

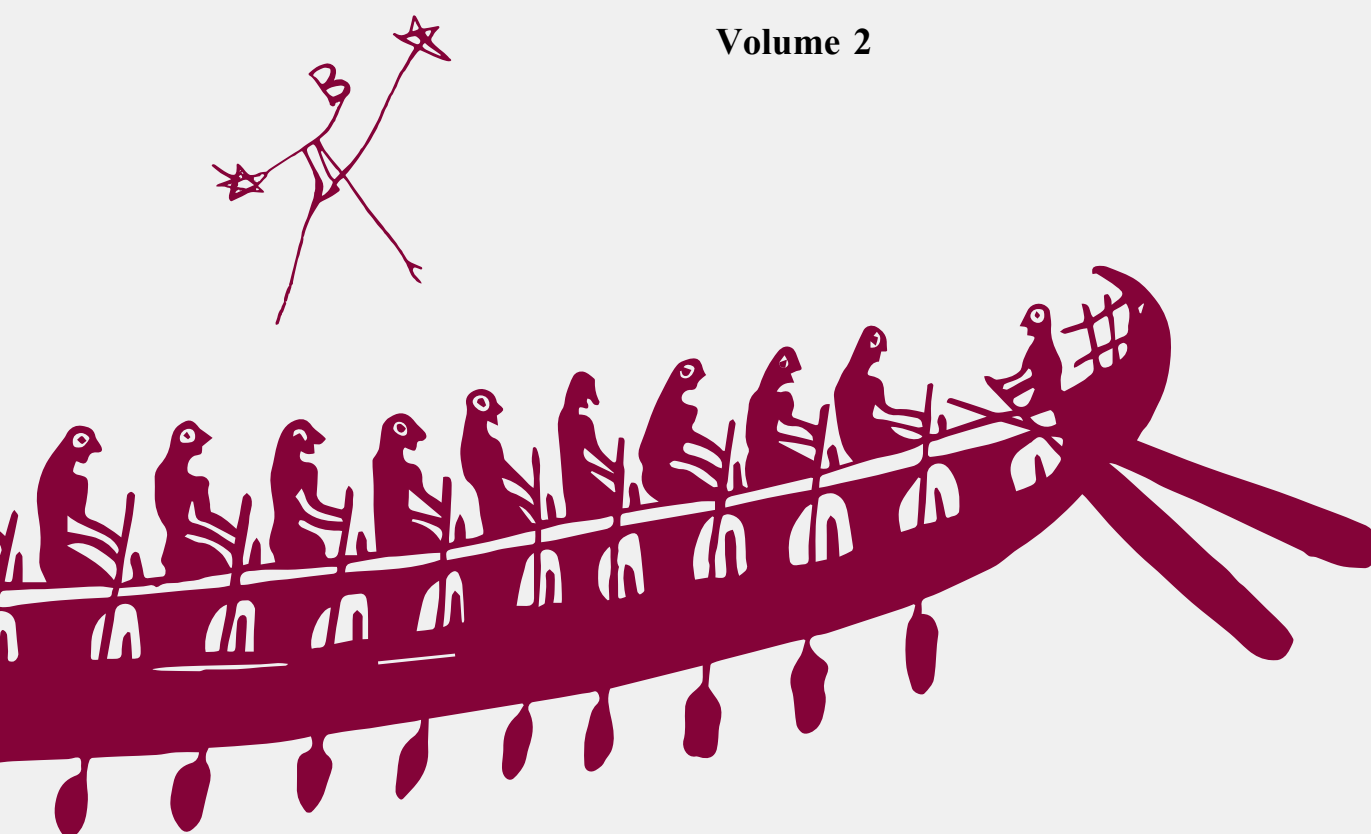
EUBOICA II

Pithekoussai and Euboea between East and West

**Proceedings of the Conference
Lacco Ameno (Ischia, Naples), 14-17 May 2018**

Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro, Matteo D'Acunto and Federica Iannone

Volume 2



Napoli 2021

UNIVERSITÀ DI NAPOLI L'ORIENTALE
DIPARTIMENTO DI ASIA AFRICA E MEDITERRANEO



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ABBREVIATIONS

Above sea-level: above s.l.; Anno Domini: AD; and so forth: etc.; Before Christ: BC; bibliography: bibl.; catalogue: cat.; centimeter/s: cm; century/ies: cent.; chap./chaps.: chapter/chapters; circa/ approximately: ca.; column/s: col./cols.; compare: cf.; *et alii*/and other people: *et al.*; diameter: diam.; dimensions: dim.; Doctor: Dr; especially: esp.; exterior: ext.; fascicule: fasc.; figure/s: fig./figs.; following/s: f./ff.; fragment/s: fr./frs.; for example: e.g.; gram/s: gm; height: h.; in other words: i.e.; interior: int.; inventory: inv.; kilometer/s: km; length: ln.; line/s: l./ll.; maximum: max.; meter/s: m; millimeter/s: mm; mini- mum: min.; namely: viz.; new series/nuova serie etc.: n.s.; number/s: no./nos.; original edition: orig. ed.; plate/s: pl./pls.; preserved: pres.; Professor: Prof.; reprint: repr.; series/serie: s.; sub voce: s.v.; supplement: suppl.; thick: th.; tomb/s: T./TT.; English/Italian translation: Eng./It. tr.; volume/s: vol./vols.; weight: wt.; which means: scil.; width: wd.

Abbreviations of periodicals and works of reference are those recommended for use in the *American Journal of Archaeology* with supplements in the *Année Philologique*.

CONTENTS

TERESA E. CINQUANTAQUATTRO, MATTEO D'ACUNTO, <i>Preface to Volume II</i>	p.	ix
--	----	----

Colonial Memories and Models

MAURIZIO GIANGIULIO, <i>Euboean Colonial Memories. Mediterranean Mobility, Literary Traditions and Social Memory</i>	»	19
LUCA CERCHIAI, <i>Interpretative Models of Euboean Colonization and Impacts on the Indigenous World</i>	»	29

Pithekoussai

TERESA E. CINQUANTAQUATTRO, <i>Pithekoussai, Necropolis of San Montano (Excavations 1965-1967). Stratigraphy, Funerary Representation and Intercultural Dynamics</i>	»	49
MELANIA GIGANTE, ALESSANDRA SPERDUTI, IVANA FIORE, FRANCESCA ALHAIQUE, LUCA BONDIOLI, <i>Euboean, Eastern and Indigenous People: A Bioarchaeological Investigation of Ancient Pithekoussai (8th-7th Century BC, Ischia Island, Campania)</i>	»	87
VALENTINO NIZZO, <i>Ritual Landscapes and Ritual Codes in the Pithekoussai Cemetery</i>	»	107
COSTANZA GIALANELLA, PIER GIOVANNI GUZZO, <i>The Manufacturing District in Mazzola and its Metal Production</i>	»	125
LUCIA A. SCATOZZA HÖRICH, <i>Pithecusan Gold: Anatolian Connections</i>	»	147
GLORIA OLCESE (with a contribution by GILBERTO ARTIOLI), <i>Natural Resources and Raw Materials at Ischia in Antiquity: Some Data and Preliminary Reports from an Ongoing, Interdisciplinary Project</i>	»	161
NADIN BURKHARDT, STEPHAN FAUST, <i>First Results of the Excavations at Pithekoussai from 2016-2018 (Villa Arbusto, Lacco Ameno, Ischia)</i>	»	183
MARIASSUNTA CUOZZO, <i>Pithekoussai. Pottery from the Mazzola Area</i>	»	201
FRANCESCA MERMATI, <i>Parerga and Paralipomena to the Study of Pithecusan-Cumaeian Ceramic Production in the Light of New Research. Twenty Years after Euboica</i>	»	221
TERESA E. CINQUANTAQUATTRO, BRUNO D'AGOSTINO, <i>The Context of "Nestor's Cup": New Considerations in the Light of Recent Anthropological Studies</i>	»	267
MAREK WĘCOWSKI, <i>The "Cup of Nestor" in Context. The Rise of the Greek Aristocratic Culture</i>	»	275

Cumae and Parthenope

ALFONSO MELE, <i>Kyme, Apollo and the Sybil</i>	»	281
MATTEO D'ACUNTO, MARIANGELA BARBATO, MARTINA D'ONOFRIO, MARCO GIGLIO, CHIARA IMPROTA, CRISTIANA MERLUZZO, FRANCESCO NITTI, FRANCESCA SOMMA, <i>Cumae in Opicia in the Light of the Recent Archaeological Excavations by the University of Napoli L'Orientale: from the Pre-Hellenic (LBA-EIA) to the earliest phase of the apoikia (LG I)</i>	»	305
ALBIO CESARE CASSIO, <i>Earlier and Earlier: The Rise of the Greek Alphabet and a Greek Letter on an Euboean Skyphos Found in Pre-Hellenic Cumae, ca. 760-750 BC</i>	»	451
MASSIMO BOTTO, <i>Phoenician Trade in the Lower Tyrrhenian Sea between the 9th and 8th Centuries BC: the Case of Cumae</i>	»	461
GIOVANNA GRECO, <i>Structures and Materials of Archaic Cumae: Research of the Federico II University in the Area of the Forum</i>	»	501
DANIELA GIAMPAOLA, <i>New Discoveries from Parthenope (Naples)</i>	»	523

Magna Graecia and Sicily

JAN KINDBERG JACOBSEN, GLORIA MITTICA, <i>Oinotrian-Euboean Pottery from Timpone della Motta – Francavilla Marittima (CS)</i>	»	563
MARIA COSTANZA LENTINI, <i>Naxos between the Eighth and Seventh Centuries BC Revisited</i>	»	575
GIOVANNA MARIA BACCI, <i>Zancle: Latest Findings on the Urban Settlement and Sanctuaries</i>	»	589

Conclusions

CATHERINE MORGAN, <i>Conclusions. From Euboica to Euboica II: Changes in Knowledge and Scholarly Approaches</i>	»	605
<i>Abstracts</i>	»	617

*PARERGA AND PARALIPOMENA TO THE STUDY
OF PITHECUSAN-CUMAEAN CERAMIC PRODUCTION
IN THE LIGHT OF NEW RESEARCH. TWENTY YEARS AFTER EUBOICA**

Francesca Mermati

*Non est turpe cum re mutare consilium
Seneca, De Beneficiis, IV, 38, 2*

THE CONTEXT. BETWEEN CAPTAINS,
MERCHANTS AND CRAFTSMEN

For the study of the colonial enterprise in the western Mediterranean of the first half of the 8th century BC, research on pottery production has always been of major importance. Whether we consider the first imports at the new settlements or the first products of the newly established workshops, pottery accompanied ancient settlers from the beginning and more so during their settling-in phase. The material is infinitely prone to fragment but practically indestructible, and it is easily produced anywhere because it can be made with raw materials that are readily available.

In the case of Pithekoussai and Kyme, the artisans could count on an established background, which allowed them to immediately start up successful workshops, achieving a steadily developing production, the precise characteristics of which have already been thoroughly treated and – I hope – exhaustively¹.

* The theoretical focus of this contribution stems from the project *Early Iron Age Greek pottery overseas: the social context of consumption*, which is aimed at sampling the earliest pottery production of Greek type overseas, analysing it with Neutron Activation (NAA). The analyses were conducted by Hans Mommsen in Bonn, Germany, and the results of the analyses are in press (MERMATI in press; on the project see also <https://www.oeaw.ac.at/oeai/forschung/keramikstudien/frueheisenzeitliche-griechische-keramik/>). For my participation in and the sharing of the implications of the results for the study of the Pithecusan-Cumaeian production, I must first of all thank my friend and colleague Stefanos Gimatzidis. For revision of my translation from Italian into English, I am grateful to Marianne Kleibrink who, for years now – thanks to our conversations full of ideas, has stimulated my research and has expanded my perspective on the study of pre-colonial and proto-colonial dynamics. Any error or inaccuracy is due to the author. For the dates attributed to the

However, the topic continues to offer new food for thought, especially thanks to the possibilities that archaeometric analysis offers to the study.

In the earliest Pithecusan-Cumaeian pottery production, the original cultural background is still much in evidence: it shows a strong Euboean influence but is already enriched by other inputs – Boeotian, Attic, Corinthian and from the Cycladic islands. Over time, contact and coexistence with different groups native to the land of arrival and/or newly arrived there lead to an eclectic production that becomes easily recognisable. It immediately gains high popularity that soon crosses regional boundaries. Its success, which is explained by the intrinsic value of the product, but also by its function as complementary to other types of goods or as a symbol of a cultural context of belonging – to be exhibited because a sign of status and preferential contact – leads to its gradual diffusion over an even wider area, which in some cases touches the western extremes of the Mediterranean basin².

The resulting cultural interaction finds fertile ground in the manifold composition of the contingent of the colonial expedition. The Euboean/Chalcidian and Aeolian/Cumaeian partnership recorded by Strabo for the Greek founders reveals the association of different components – even if both are Hellenic – at the root of the venture. The links between Euboea and Aeolian Kyme are moreover well documented: Euboean pottery is among the

pottery, the stylistic dating system for the necropolis at Pithekoussai in BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993 has been used, together with traditional chronology.

¹ MERMATI 2012a.

² On the distribution of the production, MERMATI 2013.

most imported in the Aeolian city³. It is impossible not to remember the move of Hesiod's father from Kyme to Askra in Boeotia, a region that in the Archaic period was closely connected to nearby Euboea. The only sea voyage Hesiod ever undertook was to Chalkis for the well-known poetic competition in honour of Amphidamas⁴. This outlines the existence of a triangle between Aeolian Kyme, Boeotia and Euboea, which is in keeping with ancient sources on the foundation of Kyme in Opicia and with a cultural *koinè* that, as early as the 10th century BC, reflected the convergence of commercial interests and routes between the Ionian-Euboean world and the Aeolian one⁵. We cannot exclude a Boeotian participation in the Euboean colonial enterprises – among which especially are Pithekoussai/Kyme and Zankle – one that, for now, remains hypothetical because of the scarcity of archaeological remains but is very likely⁶. A Boeotian imprint is, moreover, evident in the iconographic repertoire of Euboean Geometric pottery that was brought to Campania and the Phlegraean colonies, as we will see below. Also, the same apparently questionable choice of Hesiod's father to leave lively Asian Kyme for hateful Askra is understandable only in the light of hope for new possibilities. A move similar to the colonising ones – in that period open to all pioneering men chancing their luck⁷. In fact, the father moves βίου κεχρημένος

ἐσθλοῦ, yearning for a comfortable life but also to escape κακὴν πενίην, bad poverty⁸.

This Greek enterprise appears therefore mixed already from the very beginning, both horizontally – in the different origins of the participants, and vertically – in the different status of the settlers. There is no doubt that the leaders of the expeditions were chiefs. If in the preliminary stages of allocation, sailor-merchants had, under the supervision of captain-princes, perhaps been protagonists, it is safe to assume that the decisive move involved the physical participation of people such as Odysseus's ἀρχὸς ναυτῶν οἱ τε πρηκτῆρης ἔασι, which for Kyme take the names of *Hippokles* and *Megasthenes*⁹. The expression is used by Euryalos and directed at Odysseus, who does not want to compete (HOM. *Od.* VIII 162) and is absolutely derogatory. The earnings of these trades are, in fact, defined as κερδέων ἀρπαλέων “rapacious earnings” (HOM. *Od.* VIII 164), by ἄρπη, “a bird of prey and robbery”. It cannot be excluded that the definition also implies pirate raids. The same Phaeacians define themselves a little further on – and proudly – as νηυσὶν ἄριστοι (HOM. *Od.* VIII 247), suggesting a stratified situation with various opportunities for sea-faring, some more honourable than others. Indeed, the Phaeacians are identified *tout court* as a sea people: they are ναυσικλυτοί, glorious seafarers, δολιχῆρετμοι with long oars, φιληρέτμοι, oar lovers; they are said by Nausikaa to be poor shots with the bow and arrow and involved in seafaring (HOM. *Od.* VI 270-272); their city has more than one port (HOM. *Od.* VII 43), and they are among the most expert seafarers (HOM. *Od.* VII 108-109). It is no coincidence that they, even if placed on the fringes of the world, know the position of Euboea, because some of them had reached there and were expert enough to have made the return journey in a single day (HOM. *Od.* VII 321-328). This atmosphere of a “golden age” and “other world” that envelops the island of the

³ FRASCA 1993, 58-59, 67-69; 1998, 276-279; 2000, 395-397; 2005, 574-576. On the NA analysis, KERSCHNER 2006, 115, fig. 34; MOMMSEN – KERSCHNER 2006.

⁴ HES. *Op.* 650-659.

⁵ DEBIASI 2008, 26-27, with rich bibliography, but also MELE 1979, 19-28. The recent assignment of the products of the Bird Bowl Workshops – and therefore of the Nestor's Cup and its Eretrian counterpart – to a north-Ionian production contributes to an enriching of the framework of the connections between Euboea, Ionia and Aeolis. These cups seem to be personal objects of high-ranking personalities or products for the exchange of gifts between aristocrats rather than just goods: KERSCHNER 2014, 109-110, 121-122. On the connections between Aeolian Kyme and Kyme in Opicia, MELE 2008, 97-107; 2014, 47-48, 55-76; see the contribution of Mele in MELE 2019; RAGONE 2008.

⁶ DEBIASI 1990, 12-14; 2008, 60; MELE 2014, 33-38. On the connections between Boeotia and Euboea also BREGLIA PULCI DORIA 1982, especially 54-55; TALAMO 1982, especially 29; ROLLER 1994. See also the paper of Breglia Pulci Doria in this volume.

⁷ WALCOT 1960, 63-64; 1966, 106-109; DEBIASI 2008, 59-60.

⁸ HES. *Op.* 634, 638. On the historicity of biographical data in Hesiod's work and the possible nature of the author as a poetic *persona*, MALKIN 2004, 217-221, with bibliography; ANDOLFI 2016, 124-125.

⁹ For the “captains” and their role in western colonisation in the first half of the 8th century BC, cf. MALKIN 2004, 112-117, but also the fundamental analysis in MELE 1979, 44-45.

Phaeacians culminates with the description of the ships, which do not need a helmsman or a helm but are sailed by the sailors' thoughts and know all routes and lands. They are also very fast and sail unseen, nor fear of becoming damaged or ruined (HOM. *Od.* VIII 555-563)¹⁰. In any case, it should be said that the Phaeacians also practise both crafts and agriculture very well – which on Scherie, given its character as a fabulous land, is not affected by changes of season. The marine activity of the Phaeacians, in which they also excel, however, seems limited to the accompanying home of castaways who accidentally reach their island, which then causes Poseidon's anger towards them (HOM. *Od.* XIII 174, 176, 180-181). They are, therefore, not involved in trade, piracy and war, and they practise a navigation without any negative aspects to it, one that is difficult to define. Their expertise may, therefore, even justify all the more their criticism of the more "material" aspects of sea travel: a people excelling in navigation, who know the island of Euboea and have ships so well-commanded as to seem guided by thought, can afford to criticise a captain of a merchant vessel as being driven by profit. The criticism may be directed at the character of the unknown trader and not necessarily towards his business. The exchange of goods and rich gifts is, in fact, characteristic of hospitality relationships between men of rank, a typical act of the aristocratic ethic that distinguishes a respectable and well-educated man from the businessman who is moved exclusively by profit¹¹.

From this perspective, the reaction of Odysseus is understandable, offended by the words of Euryalos, spoken οὐ κατὰ κόσμον, not only unkindly, but also out of turn, and meant to offend (HOM. *Od.* VIII 179). Odysseus reaffirms his heroic nature by participating in competitions: his success confirms his belonging to the circuit of noblemen for whom valuables are an opportunity for exchange and mutual kindness and not just goods for sale. Another possible explanation is that the contrast lies be-

tween the individual/pirate seafarer who acts for himself and for personal profit and the trade/piracy included within an "estate" framework¹². Euboean seafaring could well have established pirate settlements to control points of passage of particular interest to them, aiming at a real form of thalassocracy. The foundation of Zankle and the garrison on the island of Capri, at the southern entrance of the Gulf of Naples, are part of such developments¹³. They surely will have been fully inserted in those transmarine aristocratic enterprises that united emergent personalities and families across the Mediterranean, far beyond the ethnic limits of their groups. This diversity certainly was repeated in new combinations, created at the place of arrival, with local and non-local populations. In fact, partnerships, alliances and collaborations inevitably arose, which we must not imagine were bound to a mono-ethnic logic but were based on opportunities and possibilities of advantage. These links must certainly have been reciprocal across the different groups involved, while the role of the populations already residing in the territory – whose cultural contribution is now gradually highlighted in new studies – should not be underestimated either in these developments¹⁴.

Also, we must not forget that, even if there is no chronological gap between Pithekoussai and Kyme as was hypothesised until a few decades ago, the conceptual world underpinning the island settlement has a very different context from that of the coastal city. Leaving aside the difficult discussion on the status of Pithekoussai – whether *emporion* or colony, widespread or delimited settlement – its archaeological footprints show us a site still rooted in a landscape frequented by seafarers, more like the father of Hesiod than his brother Perses. In fact,

¹² CHERICI 2006, 324-325.

¹³ AMPOLO 1986, 55-59; 1994, 34-35. On the analogies between the pirate bases at Capri and Zankle; FEDERICO 2016, 242-244. Further, on the passage from an individually run and aristocratic trade to that concerning communal investments – which causes the qualification of these investor-merchants as *kukoí* – and for the vertical articulation of the trade managed by the *Hippobotai* and its consequences on the Cumaean oligarchic regime, MELE 1979, 60-63. For the relationship between trade and *polis*, cf. MELE 1986, 94-99. For the ideology of seafaring in the epic tradition: CRIELAARD 2010.

¹⁴ KELLEY 2012; MERMATI 2012b; CERCIAI 2014. On the status of the new settlements recently also KOTSONAS 2012, especially 245-249.

¹⁰ According to Malkin, Euryalos' reproach does not concern a derogatory view of trade but highlights a contrast between an aristocracy more linked to sedentary activities and one of a more entrepreneurial character: MALKIN 2004, 113-114; of different opinion CREMA 2011, 44-45.

¹¹ MELE 1986, 67-85; DOMÍNGUEZ MONEDERO 2001, 223-231.

these people are involved in a trade that still seems aristocratic, focused not only on perishable materials and products such as slaves and cattle but also and above all, on valuable objects, the prerogative of very demanding elites, particularly interested in metal goods. At this point, the problem of Strabo's χρυσεῖα or χρυσία far from being solved – is perhaps a false one. If, in fact, there is no trace of gold on Pithekoussai except for a few objects from the necropolis, we do have remarkable attestations of craft activities related to the transformation of metal¹⁵. The Euboeans are among the most efficient mediators in metal management systems during the 9th and 8th centuries BC, a primacy that contends with their Levantine competitors in a rivalry/dialogue, the precise shape of which unfortunately still eludes us. Both act as intermediaries in the marketing of raw materials and as craftsmen. Certainly, aristocratic gift-giving often focused on metal objects, played a part in this development and would have immediately sealed many interpersonal relationships between equals or would-be equals. The organisation of the metallurgical quartier of Mazzola closely resembles that of similar ones in areas with strong Euboean influence since the first half of the 8th century BC¹⁶. In addition, in this chronological phase, we have to consider the value of iron. This is evident from Homer himself, who does not hesitate to underline it in the funeral games in honour of Patroklos when an iron disc is offered in a throwing competition¹⁷. Its value is said to be sufficient to satisfy for five years the needs of a landowner with shepherds and ploughmen at his service. We are here certainly in a system closer to the trade-πρῆξις providing in the exchange of luxury products between βασιλῆες where gift-exchange practices are involved. A presence/absence of metals on Pithekoussai is consequently not an argument against the presence of intermediary trade activities and the transformation of raw materials on the island¹⁸.

In this system, artisans will have found not only

a place on the ships of the settlers, but they will have been closely linked to the dominant class, involved in territorial relations and dialogue with the surrounding population. If it is true that the presence of hybrid products at a site testify to the coexistence of different cultural components and that mixed and apparently “strange” products will have been developed for consumers who have no problem using them and even require them, it is also true that the very close link between emergent groups cannot ignore the artisan component, which often operates in direct connection with the customer's needs. This is certainly the case with the olla-hydria from San Marzano sul Sarno T 928, which was fashioned in a Phlegraean workshop and created after an indigenous prototype but with a strongly Hellenising decoration¹⁹.

Things seem to change towards the last decades of the 8th century BC, when the growth of a society is perceivable that is by now well-defined and embedded in the Gulf area, certainly more differentiated but also generally poorer. The leading groups are now established landowners with a monopoly on surplus and in dialogue with neighbouring elites. The condition of ἰσομοιρία, which had perhaps characterised the first colonial moment, had probably also been lost – if it ever existed at Pithekoussai or in the proper colony of Kyme²⁰. Trade is now essentially practised by those who do not possess land and is focused on the exchange of perishable goods. It is, therefore, possible that a wider middle class was created, in which the potters were associated with other artisans earning their lives with difficulty, in what Hesiod calls “good contest”, ἀγαθή Ἔρις, opposed to others who seek sustenance without producing anything, such as the beggar or the *aoidos*²¹. It is a more structured society in which the individual needs to find his own voice and space, where we witness the birth of artisan awareness

¹⁹ On the archaeometric study of the object and observations on its production context, see *infra*.

²⁰ For a discussion on the principle of equity underlying the division of land, in particular in the newly founded colonial contexts: FRISONE 2019, especially 272-275, with rich bibliography. The author rightly points out that a distribution based on “justice” does not necessarily imply the concept of “equality” in the modern sense because it can instead, without problems, mean a proportional equality connected to status.

²¹ HES. *Op.* 24-26. On the topic MELE 1979, 53-54.

¹⁵ RIDGWAY 1984, 48-49; GUZZO 2011, 79-84; OLCESE 2017, 33-36.

¹⁶ MERMATI 2018, 124.

¹⁷ HOM. *Il.* XXIII 826-835.

¹⁸ The link between metal crafts and the Chalcidian aristocracy was already pointed out by Alfonso Mele several years ago and is currently even more valid after the new discoveries in Euboea and Campania; MELE 1979, 46-49. See also MELE 1982; 2014, 12-13, 19-21.

(like *-inos* and later Aristonothos himself) and where autobiographical notes find a voice²². We should not, for example, forget that the first signatures of craftsmen are in contexts not only far from the aristocratic *poleis* of the motherland but also significantly placed along the routes that led from those to the West²³. Following some scholars, the colonies could be perhaps considered real places of experimentation for what would later become typical aspects of the *polis*, so much so as to be midwives to the birth of similar socio-political structures in Greece²⁴. This also raises the possibility that situations like that of Pithekoussai and Kyme could be the result of wide-ranging trade dynamics carried out by ethnically heterogeneous groups linked by the same economic interests and not necessarily organised by well-defined urban centres. The Euboean-Aeolian composition of the expedition supports this hypothesis: it reflects a *de facto* situation dating back to at least two centuries before the foundation of Pithekoussai, and based on the sharing of routes and management of trade flows. It is no coincidence that from the last quarter of the 8th century BC, the need also arose to more clearly signify the identity of the group, seen too in a practice of differentiating burial in ways that clearly communicate the status of the buried. Hence the choice of the Cumaeon aristocrats (descendants of the ἀρχαῖοι πολῖται?) – significantly contemporary to the Euboean ones – to reconstruct a heroic funeral rite that underlines the membership of the individual to a clan connected to a relevant mythical universe²⁵.

POTTERY CLAYS, WORKSHOPS AND PRODUCTION

One of the more serious problems concerning Pitheculan-Cumaeon pottery production is the lo-

cation of the workshops, which failing renders the attribution of the vessels to one or the other site particularly difficult. Firm contexts for the workshops would help to better define the chronology of the two settlements and their respective connections over time. They would also be useful in order to outline the distribution routes of the products and to better describe the interconnections, first with neighbouring peoples and then with areas further away.

For Pithekoussai, where large deposits of excellent clays are available, attribution is relatively easier. The clays resulted from deposits of sea mud and volcanic ash washed from tufa layers. They are on top of the Green Tufa of Monte Epomeo and covered by deposits of sand and debris from landslides. To access the clays, people needed to dig shafts. The quality of the Ischia clays, the processing of which in more recent times is concentrated in the Casamicciola area, is such that up to the early 1900s, it was used by Neapolitan potters in their urban workshops. At Naples, the use of finished pottery from Ischia has always been quite common²⁶.

On the island, the only ancient ceramic *atelier* known so far was recently identified. Today, it is located underneath the church of Santa Restituta at Lacco Ameno, and it must have been active from the second half of the 8th century BC onwards. Germane to the chronological phase here under review, is a round kiln, partly embedded in virgin soil and also close to the slope of Monte di Vico (Kiln 1). The kiln must have belonged to a workshop in the area of the artisan quartier, which developed later (Fig. 1). Subsequent landslides forced the occupants to gradually move to the areas where now the square and church are. The structure in question is peculiar and difficult to classify. As said, it is circular and has a floor made of stones, found *in situ*. The floor is supported by a cross-shaped structure placed on a central pillar, which in other kilns can constitute the support on its own. The presence of a perforated floor is uncertain because no traces remain.

²² On the fragment of *-inos*, the last ROSAMILIA 2015, 165-166, who associates with it the inscription on the aryballos in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, H. L. Pierce Fund 98.900.

²³ D'AGOSTINO 2003, 76-77.

²⁴ HANSEN 2012, 55-57. Of the same opinion is Malkin, who doubts not only the status of the cities of the motherland at the moment of colonial exploits but also that the *polis* was the necessary starting point for them: MALKIN 1994, but also GRECO 1994, 17-18, and more recently MALKIN 2016.

²⁵ MERMATI 2018, 127-129.

²⁶ On the clays of the island, BUCHNER 1994; more recently OLCESE 2015, 279; 2017, 30-31, 197-198.

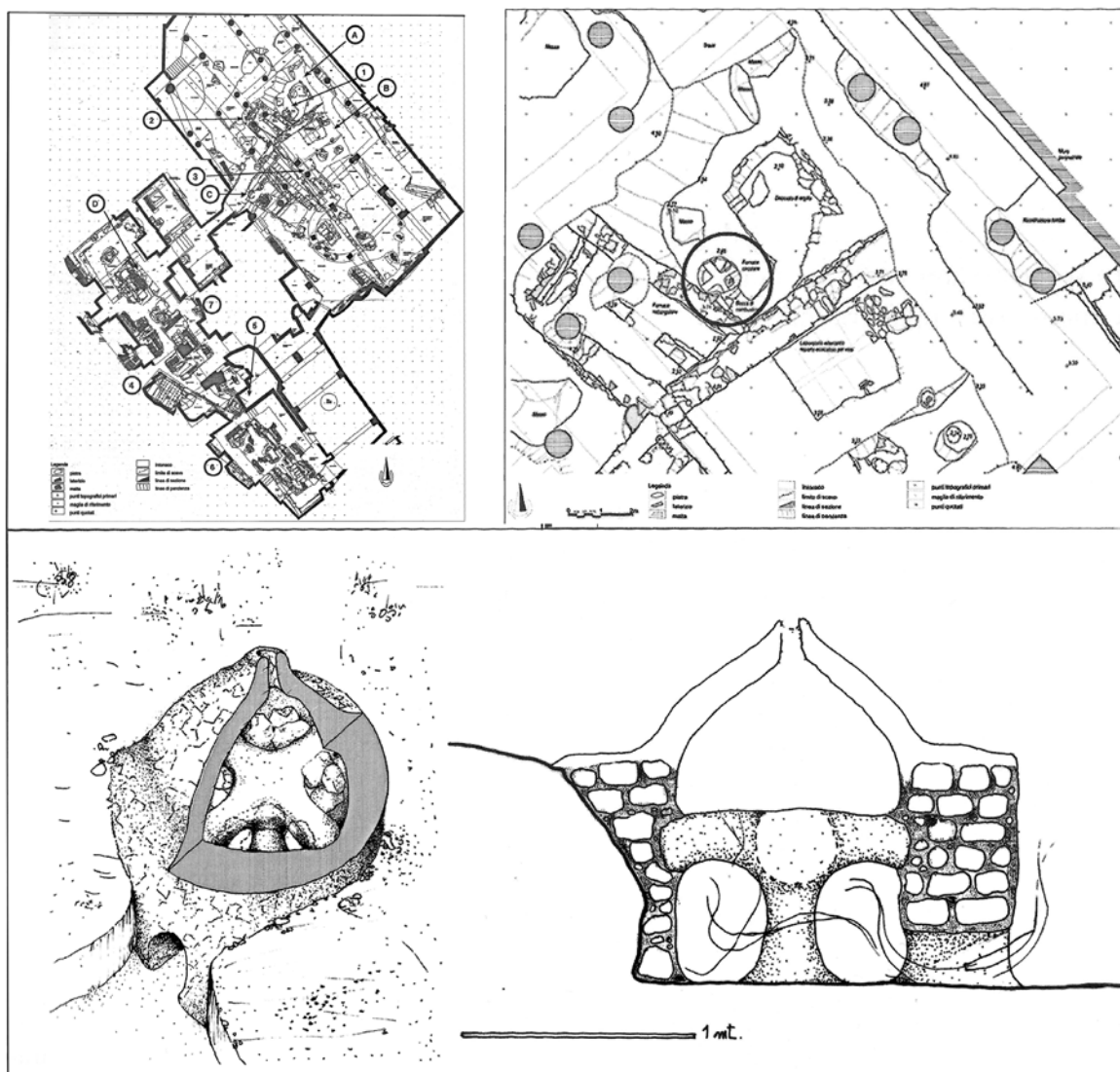


Fig. 1. Ischia, Lacco Ameno. The archaeological area under the church of Santa Restituta, Kiln 1 (after OLCESE 2015, modified by the author)

A round bench runs along the inner perimeter of the combustion chamber at the same level as the cross²⁷. The kiln was apparently built to fire so-called “fine ware” pottery, even if the publisher of

the complex does not exclude its use also for larger containers, perhaps even pithoi²⁸.

No further pottery processing connected areas could be identified that were contemporary with the kiln. This renders it rather uncertain whether the kiln was part of a developed artisans’ district dedicated to the processing of pottery – a *kerameikos* in short. No remains of any structures are present that could have been related to workshops, inside which the manufacturing and decoration of the vessels took place – as opposed to the “out-

²⁷ Because of the presence of the pillar, the kiln may be attributed to Hasaki Ia type. The bench that, according to Olcese, could have served as the base to the roof – now disappeared – suggests a mix with type Ig and could have functioned to place the vessels on in the absence of a perforated floor. The cross element does not seem to find any comparison. However, the kiln must not have functioned well, both because of its small size and because of its structure. For example, from the excavation documentation, one cannot understand how the air could circulate through the stone elements, which, moreover, seem to occupy the space usually used for wood. HASAKI 2002, 147, 158-159, pl. III.4. Pictures of Kiln 1 in OLCESE 2017, 60, fig. 6 a.

²⁸ OLCESE 2017, 57-64 (especially 62-63), 50-51; 2015, 281-284. The possibility of firing large pots in Kiln 1 seems contradicted by its dimensions, which would function for pots of max. 75 cm in height and width because the combustion chamber measures only 90 cm in diam. and 60 cm in height.

side” of the kiln area. Other uncertainties are whether Kiln 1 at Santa Restituta was connected to one or more workshops or none, or whether hypothetical workshops also functioned as houses, or whether such workshops were permanent or seasonal. The production capacity itself is also uncertain, as such would depend not only on the size of the kiln but also on the work rhythm of the potter and the composition of the craftsmen group. Kiln 1 fits with structures of small dimensions; these require more wood than larger kilns to work and obviously have a lower capacity. They are, however, more practical and easier to use. An artisans’ quarter with several smaller kilns may be more efficient than one equipped with very large kilns, and they are preferable if there is any diversification of production²⁹. However, we cannot be at all sure that at Santa Restituta several kilns worked simultaneously during the Geometric and Orientalising periods. For the Geometric period, the model set-up that seems to have been the most widespread is that of a mixed organisation of activity areas, not only for various crafts but also with *oikoi* and small family *necropoleis*³⁰. The artisan units in this phase are often integrated in the centre of inhabited areas and not – as later – at their peripheries. Residential structures, therefore, may have been sited near Kiln I. Shared kiln use with joint heat sources and the coexistence of pottery and metallurgical workshops are, for those reasons, a possibility. Connections between the Mezzavia area and Santa Restituta must, consequently, be considered³¹. The fragment of the crater signed by *-inos* comes from a layer underneath the foundation of

structure II at Mazzola, which constitutes an addition to the adjacent older spaces, where structure I seems to have functioned as a residential building³². Consequently, the possibility of defining the places where production took place – the “production landscape” – and outlining their characteristics is still completely impossible.

What is clear is that the site was not accidentally chosen and that its fortunate position was the reason behind the long prosperity of the pottery workshops. The clay in use seems to have been at least in part from the island, from the Casamicciola coast and from the slopes of Monte Epomeo. The suitability of the place will have also been linked to the availability of water; a few decades ago, there were still cisterns at the site. The supply of abundant water is, in fact, as important for pottery manufacture as that of good clays. The area was also suitable for the supply of sand and other materials needed as inclusions in the fabric; amounts of it were found near Kiln 3 – working between the end of the 4th till perhaps the beginning of the 3rd centuries BC³³. Another advantage of the site is its nearness to the beach, which allowed heavy goods to be stored in large quantities for easy handling. Although there are no traces of warehouses or harbour establishments, these must have been situated near the Lacco Ameno promenade³⁴. A good position can be a useful element in quantifying the extent of the production, which, if widespread and on a large scale, needed an efficient distribution system³⁵. Easy shipment, close to the workshops, is a pointer to a successful production chain, from the creation of the objects to their delivery: the presence of artisans at Casamicciola in modern times confirms the functionality of the model.

It is logical to assume that a functionally and topographically polymorphic site such as Pithekoussai in the 8th and 7th centuries BC must have been equipped with widespread artisan quarters.

²⁹ STISSI 2002, 59-65; HASAKI 2002, 271.

³⁰ In this regard, the *querelle* regarding Athens and Papadopoulos’ hypothesis of placing the first *kerameikos* in the area of the future agora are significant. However, other scholars do not agree with this theory, preferring the hypothesis of mixed-function areas; PAPADOPOULOS 1996; 2003, 271-316 with bibliography; against MONACO 2000, 17-28; 2003; GRECO 2005; LEMOS 2006, 514-516. For a general discussion on so-called “artisan quarters” of the Geometric period – especially for metallurgical and pottery manufacturing – cf. MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2012. On the comparison between the situation at Oropos, Eretria and Pithekoussai – for which the author suggests caution in the interpretation of the Mezzavia area – see especially MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2012, 137-140. Updates also in the contribution of Vlachou in this volume.

³¹ For this possibility, at sites where traces of structures connected to kilns are difficult to read, cf. STISSI 2002, 49; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2012, 148.

³² David Ridgway doubts, however, that the area may have also hosted potters. He placed the pottery workshops in the area of Santa Restituta because of the discoveries by Don Pietro Monti: RIDGWAY 1984, 112, 117.

³³ OLCESE 2015, 290, 305.

³⁴ RIDGWAY 1984, 117. On connections between workshops and shipment, STISSI 2002, 40; on the need to be close to water resource cf. STISSI 2002, 45-47.

³⁵ HASAKI 2002, 275-276.

These were probably organised with the main nucleus at Lacco Ameno and a constellation of scattered settlements. The presence of workshops operating at different levels, from simpler *ateliers* linked to domestic consumption to more complex ones, should also be assumed³⁶. If the workshops produced heterogeneous typologies of objects – as seems to be the case with Kiln 1 – we have to imagine that they were not enormously specialised and mostly focused on a production directed at local consumption. We certainly need to explore the dialogue with Kyme and the further spread of pottery production on a regional scale, as well as trade with indigenous and Etruscan participants. The nature and modality of the exchange also needs to be explored. We still know too little about the workshop to be able to define it, although it seems comparable with contemporary examples.

To understand the status of the potters working in the *ateliers* is another problem. They probably belonged to less marginal social groups than usually thought and were arguably, at least in part, linked to the dominant classes that were their clients³⁷. From Mazzola itself come fragments of craters decorated in the Cesnola Painter Style and bearing the emblem of horse-at-manger, which refers to the ideological and aristocratic world of the *Hippobotai*³⁸. The realisation of such objects requires an evident production challenge, and the fact that they are found at places intended for artisan activity leads to a necessary reappraisal of the rank of the residents³⁹.

³⁶ Hasaki underlines that most of the workshops investigated in Greece function to the needs of a family, even of the extended type, and that this must always be kept in mind when we try to define a so-called “artisan quartier”, which is anyhow very difficult to outline, except in a few cases: HASAKI 2002, 266–267, 272, with bibliography. On the concept of “artisan quartier”, see ESPOSITO – SANIDAS 2012, especially 11–21. The conclusions of Thirion Merle, who sees the Santa Restituta *atelier* as the only place producing Greek pottery in the Geometric period, cannot be followed. The limited possibility of reading the production area at this stage – together with the presence of only a very small kiln – cannot lead to the claim that «le groupe de référence de Santa Restituta, satisfaisant pour les périodes géométrique et archaïque, ne l’est certainement plus guère à la fin du 3^{ème} et au début du 2^{ème} s. av. J.-C.»; see the contribution of Thirion Merle in OLCESE 2017, 197.

³⁷ MELE 1979, 50–51; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2012, 148.

³⁸ RIDGWAY 1984, 109–113.

³⁹ The connection between men transforming metals and βασιλῆες has already been highlighted for Eretria, for Koukos in

We do not know whether the Phlegraean potters belonged to any specific ethnic group. If it is logical to think that among the colonial settlers artisans were also present – capable thereby of rendering the enterprise self-sufficient – and to see these as Greek immigrants, the same cannot be said for second-generation potters. Because pottery production is of a composite nature, it is possible to imagine workshops managed by operators from various cultures, perhaps even born from mixed marriages. That at Pithekoussai indigenous artisans and carpenters were at work is evident from burials with tools, marking a status that the Greeks rarely underlined in this chronological phase⁴⁰. However, the presence of not Greek artisans became more evident in the last quarter of the 8th and the beginning of the 7th centuries BC, when Pithecusan society was fully integrated with the pre-existing populations of the area. We should, moreover, imagine family-run workshops in which all members participate in the work chain, each according to their own operating skills. Children born from mixed couples will certainly have absorbed aspects from the different sets of cultural traits and these will have influenced their products⁴¹. Women’s work itself – almost invisible at this stage – will have constituted another cultural contribution⁴².

Chalkidiki, and for Oropos, and has been suggested for Mazzola. It is based on the value of the raw material and the preciousness of the objects, generally managed by *elites*. Family groups that manage metallurgical activities – without necessarily participating in them – have been defined as *semi-aristocrats*; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2006, 200–206, with bibliography.

⁴⁰ IAIA 2006, 197; MERMATI 2012b, 301–303; PORTA 2012, 15.

⁴¹ On the problem of the work of children and youngsters, see LANGDON 2013, especially 176–185, 189–191, and fig. 8.12; 2015. The alphabet inscribed on a loom weight from Athens, dated between the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 7th century BC (LANGDON 2013, fig. 8.12), brings to mind the background to the locally produced lekythos from Kyme, datable to EPC, on which an inscription – made before the pot was fired – reads *Hisa Tin-nuna*. It is accompanied by two interrupted alphabetical series, one Euboean and the other Corinthian – both engraved after firing – which seem to be fairly uncertain and different from the previous hand. It is the object with the oldest Etruscan inscription in Campania, see COLONNA 1995; 2006, 198; 2010, 187. Other experts consider it not Etruscan but Greek, CASSIO 1991–1993. David Ridgway agrees with the Etruscan reading: RIDGWAY 1998, 315. On the lekythos; MERMATI 2012a, no. D81 of the catalogue, with bibliography. On the inscription, especially ZEVİ *et al.* 2008, 122–123.

⁴² The participation of women in family artisan activities – including pottery production – is quite logical in a domestic organisation of work, even more so for the Geometric, Orientalis-

It is more difficult to define the Cumaean situation: clay quarries have not been identified and we have no traces of pottery workshops. In the archaeological literature, clay imports from the island have been hypothesised for decades⁴³. The theory is based on the similarity of the Cumaean and Pithecan fabrics in autoptic (i.e. seen by the author) examination and on stylistic considerations but is now difficult to maintain. That the production and consumption of pottery in the coastal city – which must have been considerable and gradually increasing with Kyme's own expansion – were dependent on clay supply and/or finished products from the island is not very convincing. The island would not even have acted as a quarry when the focus shifted to the mainland. One needs to consider that the use of clay was not limited to pottery but certainly also needed for architectural elements, e.g. roof tiles, and similar as is attested at Pithekoussai from the end of the 7th century BC onwards, the use of which certainly must have spread to Kyme⁴⁴. If, in rare cases, the need to import island clay is to be envisaged because the local material was absolutely unsuitable, the distance to be covered was around 11 miles by sea, from the promontory of Monte di Procida to the beach at Kyme beach, neither so short nor so easy⁴⁵.

It is, therefore, highly probable – even if so far not demonstrable – that there were local work-

shops with quarries closer to Kyme⁴⁶. A confirmation of two different productions, one on the island and another on the mainland, seems proven by a number of dissimilarities detected in the clays, which, however, some scholars tend to minimise⁴⁷. At this point, it must be emphasised that, although recently our knowledge of manufacture on the island has increased thanks to the discoveries at Santa Restituta, the knotty questions are not at all resolved. In talking about which clay was used, including that in the Santa Restituta workshop, some specific problems must be faced.

Analyses have been carried out on samples from Kiln 1 (including some pottery waste products), as well as on clay accumulated near the kiln, ready for use. Firstly, the samples subjected to chemical (XRF) and mineralogical analyses allow the definition of chemical groups. Of them, group D seems to be the one in which most of the LG samples fall, including some kiln wasters, but to this group also some samples taken from Hellenistic Greek-Italic amphorae belong⁴⁸. Group D has been identified as a local product because wasters are of this clay type and because of the long duration of the use of this raw material. Furthermore, clay found *in situ*, of which a single sample has been analysed, seems to be very close in chemical characteristics⁴⁹. Even given the very high probability that at Pithekoussai, at least the Santa Resti-

ing and Archaic phases. It was not uncommon in Etruria; COLONNA 1993. In Greek contexts, representations of women engaged in ceramic crafts are rare but well-known in the archaeological literature. The oldest is on a Corinthian *pinax* from Penteskouphia, dated between the late 7th and early 6th centuries BC, representing a woman modelling a clay sphere with the help of an old man; VIDALE 2002, 241, fig. 44, no. 12. Another is on a black-figure Boeotian skyphos dating from the early 6th century BC, in a scene of difficult interpretation; VIDALE 2002, 283-285, fig. 71. Finally, the famous female painter working on a kantharos – interpreted as a slave, wife or daughter of the potter – represented on the Attic kalpis by the Leningrad Painter and belonging to the Caputi Collection, datable between 470 and 460 BC; KEHRBERG 1982, 28-32; VENIT 1988; ARRIGONI 2007, 18-20; LAMBRUGO 2009, 115-117.

⁴³ MERMATI 2012a, 43, 237-239, with previous bibliography.

⁴⁴ The house at Punta Chiarito has a tiled roof, belonging to the second phase of occupation, datable between the end of the 7th and the first decades of the 6th century BC; DE CARO – GILANELLA 1998, 341-342, fig. 6.

⁴⁵ STISSI 2002, 45, with bibliography. The same proposed situation at Taranto does not seem supported by sufficiently conclusive data.

⁴⁶ Although the availability of the raw material is not necessarily the first element potters consider in selecting their workshop sites, it is obvious that it is fundamental in their choices. The ease of finding a raw material such as clay has always favoured the positioning of workshops generally, obviously with attention also paid to different aspects such as distribution and proximity to water; MORGAN 1994, 321. The same cases of Corinth and Athens pose many problems; STISSI 2002, 43-45.

⁴⁷ MERMATI 2012a, 237-239, especially note 20, with bibliography. A synthesis also in CUOZZO – D'AGOSTINO – DEL VERME 2006, 25-26, and more recently in CUOZZO 2015, 223. Jones also favoured a distinction between Pithecan and Cumaean clays in the first approaches to the problem: JONES 1986, 675-677.

⁴⁸ 33 LG ceramic fragments from Santa Restituta have so far been analysed (XRF). Mineralogical analyses were carried out on 4 of them with a polarised light microscope on thin sections. Of these, 27 were relevant to Group D: OLCESE 2017, 113-114, 185-186, 195-198, 209-210. For the list of samples, 128, note 115.

⁴⁹ OLCESE 2017, 114, especially note 120, 185-186. It should be remembered that for a correct methodological approach, the mere presence of clay near the kiln does not exclude the possibility that it comes from another site. The pertinence of objects made of Group D clay to local production is, in fact, defined as "probable". Also, Thirion Merle shows caution in OLCESE 2017, 195.

tuta workshop produced pottery from clay from Ischia, the author of the results, however, underlines the inadequacy of these data to properly distinguish not only between Pithecan and Cumaean products but also between Pithecan-Cumaean workshops and others in the Bay of Naples, which could have produced objects very similar in chemical and petrographic characteristics⁵⁰.

Although laboratory comparisons are needed to distinguish the two pottery fabrications, the definition “Pithecan-Cumaean production” seems still the more suitable one⁵¹. It derives from the attribution coined with intuition and predictive instinct by Marina Martelli for an aryballos from the Certosa necropolis, reversing the sites for chronological reasons⁵². We have – with regret – to agree with Gloria Olcese saying that «in base all’analisi chimica non è possibile determinare se le officine di Napoli hanno fabbricato la ceramica a vernice nera usando le argille di Ischia: i dati di laboratorio sarebbero in questo caso molto simili essendo stata utilizzata la stessa materia prima»⁵³. The difficulties in reaching an unambiguous and definitive solution to the Pithekoussai-Kyme problem should be all the more evident. Identifying all Phlegraean clay banks and sampling all objects in order to match pastes with quarries is as impossible as discerning between the substantial homogeneity of the clays from the Bay of Naples⁵⁴. This, unfortunately, makes it impossible to distinguish by autoptic analysis between the fabrics of Pithecan-Cumaean pottery because they share the same characteristics and possess a substantial typological homogeneity. Identical objects are, in fact, attested at both sites, which makes a correct placing of the hands of painters or groups of objects im-

possible; they appear all by the same hands and are probably produced by the same workshops⁵⁵.

These uncertainties have led to confusion in the terms employed in the archaeological literature, which is generally caused by the assignation of objects to one location over another, based on find contexts that sometimes seem to be more concentrated at a particular site. However, although the temptation is strong to attribute the production of an object to the site where it is best documented archaeologically, the limitations of so doing are obvious, especially in a situation in constant flux thanks to new research. Furthermore, definitions based on studies published immediately after excavation but yet to be checked and reviewed continue in use. In particular, the suitability of using the label “Pithecan Workshops” should be examined. It was introduced by Kees Neeft to define a series of aryballoi distributed between Pithekoussai and Kyme; he attributed it to two different potters, the so-called Painters X and Y, and less certain to a third, the Potter/Painter Z. However, after a recent review by the author of the present article, the situation appears more complex and involves several more artisans and workshops. A precise location – moreover, at Kyme and not at Pithekoussai – can currently be hypothesised perhaps only for the “Pittore del Serpente a Testa Quadripartita” and for the “Gruppo a Fondo Piatto”. The first is operating between PCA and MPC: his products are, so far, all concentrated on the mainland and were all in the Ste-

⁵⁰ The problem is particularly evident with the later Bay of Naples pottery production; OLCESE 2017, 99 and note 9; 2015, 302-303. For the earlier phase, the focus is obviously on the Phlegraean sites; Olcese does not deny the possibility of a Cumaean production, but the existence of this should be verified and which, in any case, would not solve the difficulties in attributing the products; OLCESE 2017, 117.

⁵¹ A very optimistic approach in this sense is that of OLCESE 2017, 99, 117, and 2015, 300, despite the limitations of the possibilities she herself acknowledges.

⁵² The aryballos is defined as “*cumano-pithecan*”: MARTELLI 1981.

⁵³ OLCESE 2015, 303.

⁵⁴ Today, a great help for Ischia is the geological guide for the island MONTI 2011.

⁵⁵ Recent attribution to Pithekoussai of products – with decoration both figurative and linear – on the basis of a greater «raffinatezza del rivestimento» and of the «apparato decorativo calligrafico» is not acceptable for reasons just explained; CUOZZO 2015, 228, fig. 13. It should also be stressed that the objects presented in support of this hypothesis are all datable between PCA and MPC, that is between the last quarter of the 8th and the first quarter of the 7th centuries BC. At this time, Kyme is firmly ensconced on the coast and appears to have absorbed the vitality of the Phlegraean Greek community. Indeed, after the institutionalised κτίσις of Kyme, Pithekoussai seems to be reduced in importance, until seismic events caused a transfer of population – perhaps partial – from the island to the mainland (STR., V 4, 9). This shift is remembered in Livy and Phlegon of Tralles; LIV. VIII 22, 5-6; PHLEG. TRALL. *FGrHist* 257 F 36 X B 53-6. Certainly, the Pithecan also contributed to the ecistic foundation: the necropolis of San Montano shows, in fact, a clear decrease in the number of burials since the end of the 8th century BC; MELE 2003, 17, 26; 2014, 24-25; GUZZO 2011, 101-111; 2016, 13, 31; NIZZO 2007b, 26-27; GUZZO 2016, 68-69.

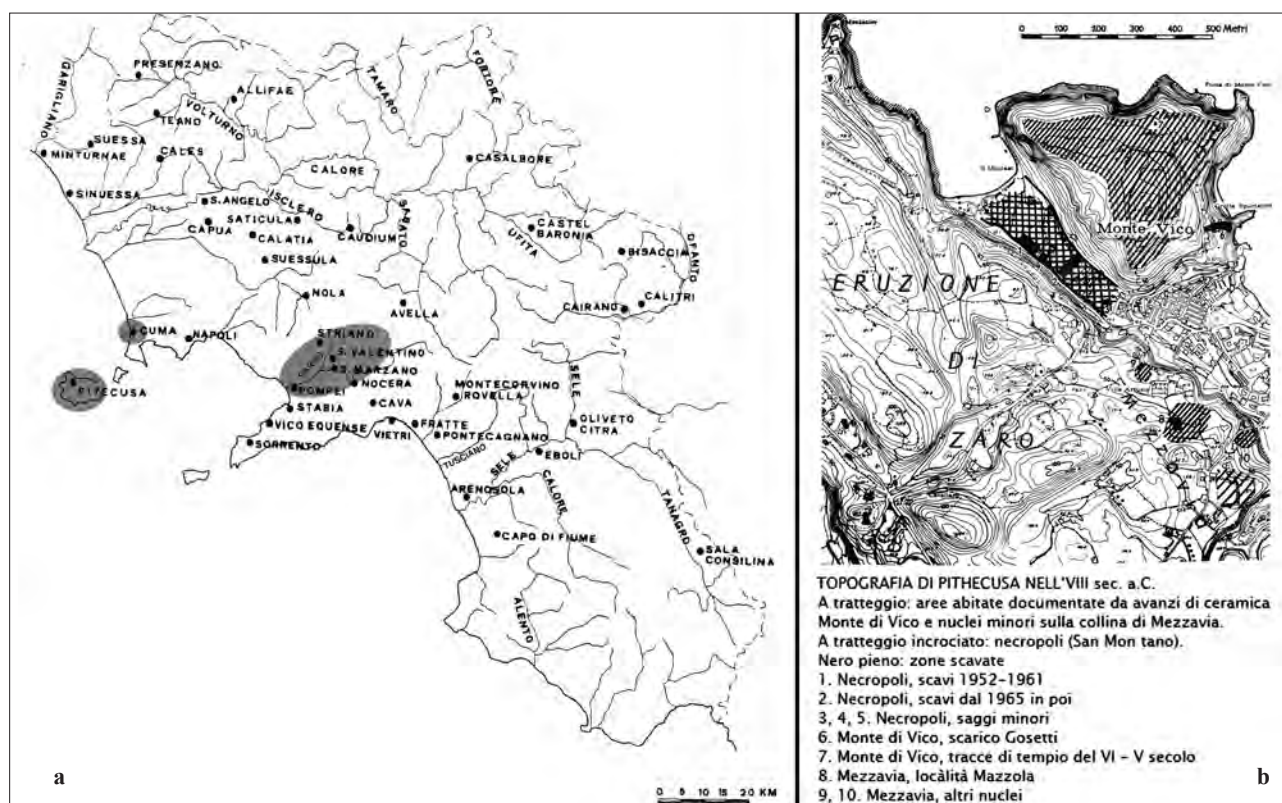


Fig. 2. a. Ancient Campania; b. Topography of Pithekoussai in the 7th century BC (after BUCHNER 1975, pl. I)

vens Collection. The “Gruppo a Fondo Piatto”, corresponding to the Potter/Painter Z identified by Neeft, is likely to also come from a Cumaean workshop since all Phlegraean attestations are from Kyme⁵⁶. To this group may be added the Certosa necropolis aryballos already mentioned. The definition of “Pithecan Workshops” was recently used – in this case rightly so – to identify the remains found at Santa Restituta and should only be used in that case.

That the debate is still very much alive among scholars is evident, for example, in the emblematic case of the so-called “oinochoai Ischia-Cuma-Tarquiniā”, which will be discussed below. The definition of this class of jugs oscillates between that normally in use – which is preferred here – and numerous variants; among these, “oinochoai cumane”, “Classe cumano-etrusca”, “Gruppo Cuma-Tarquiniā-Pontecagnano”⁵⁷.

⁵⁶ NEEFT 1987, 59-65; MERMATI 2012a, 174-183.

⁵⁷ An analytical study of the *Gruppo Ischia-Cuma-Tarquiniā* in GRECO – MERMATI 2007, with bibliography, and MERMATI 2012a, 148. The question does not seem at all resolvable if older and revised labels continue to be used; most recently CUOZZO 2015, 220. The problem, in this case, arose also from

NEW NA ANALYSES

As explained, it seems impossible to identify workshops and productions only by decorative styles or/and macroscopic clay characteristics. The Phlegraean pots belong, as mentioned, clearly to a similar production set-up in their technology and repertoire and have been equally distributed at the two sites since at least the last quarter of the 8th century BC. An archaeometric approach supporting an autoptic analysis seems the correct direction. A sampling campaign was carried out on 39 objects – from Pithekoussai, Kyme and the necropoleis of the Valle del Sarno – to be subjected to NAA (Table 1). Such an approach has already rendered excellent results for pottery from similar contexts (Fig. 2). Seven of the 39 samples analysed come from Cuma (pre-Hellenic necropolis and Hellenic necropolis) and 14 from Ischia (metallurgical district of Mazzola and San Montano necropolis). For the examination of early pottery from Pithekoussai, we preferred finds from Mazzola.

the difficulty of both workshop identification and production site.

Sample	Provenance	Inv. n.	Shape/class	Chronology	Supposed Production/ Provenance	Production/ Provenance after NA analyses	Clay Group	Fig.	Concordance with MERLATI in press
Samp1	Kyme, T 29 Osta	129774	<i>Chevron</i> skyphos	780/70-760 a.C.	Attica/Corinth/Euboea/Cyclades	Euboea	X061	Fig. 3a	Kyme 1
Samp2	Kyme, T 3 Osta	128850	<i>Chevron</i> skyphos	780/70-760 a.C.	Attica/Corinth/Euboea/Cyclades	Euboea	X061	Fig. 3b	Kyme 2
Samp3	Kyme, T 29 Osta	129853	Black kotyle	780/70-760 a.C.	Attica/Euboea/Cyclades	Euboea	X061	Fig. 3c	Kyme 3
Samp4	Kyme, necropolis	SN01	Dipylon style oinochos	750 c.a	Attica	Attica	KrPPS	Fig. 9	Kyme 18
Samp5	Kyme, T LII Gabnici	128333	round aryballos with long neck	LG II/EPC	Euboea	?	Single	Fig. 10	Kyme 19
Samp6	Kyme, necropolis	SN02	orientalizing conical lekkythos	EPC	Pithekoussai/Kyme	Pithekoussai/ Kyme	X003	Fig. 13a	Kyme 20
Samp7	Kyme, necropolis	SN03	orientalizing ovoid oinochos	EPC	Pithekoussai/Kyme	Pithekoussai/ Kyme	X003	Fig. 13b	Kyme 21
Samp8	Pithekoussai, Mazzola	245595	LG style open shape	LG I	Pithekoussai/Kyme	?	Single	Fig. 6c	Pithekoussai 4
Samp9	Pithekoussai, Mazzola	245587	Aetos 666 kotyle	LG I	Pithekoussai/Kyme	Euboea	EuA	Fig. 4a	Pithekoussai 5
Samp10	Pithekoussai, Mazzola	245589	Thapsos skyphos	LG I	Pithekoussai/Kyme	Campania (Pithekoussai/ Kyme?)	X121	Fig. 5a	Pithekoussai 6
Samp11	Pithekoussai, Mazzola	245596	Thapsos closed shape	LG I	Pithekoussai/Kyme	?	Single	Fig. 5b	Pithekoussai 7
Samp12	Pithekoussai, Mazzola	245600	Euboian style crater	LG I	Pithekoussai/Kyme	Euboea	EuA	Fig. 6a	Pithekoussai 8
Samp13	Pithekoussai, Mazzola	245602	Cesnola Style crater	LG I	Pithekoussai/Kyme	Pithekoussai/ Kyme	X003	Fig. 6b	Pithekoussai 9
Samp14	Pithekoussai, Mazzola	245610	LG amphora	LG I	Pithekoussai/ Kyme	?	Single	Fig. 6d	Pithekoussai 10
Samp15	Pithekoussai, San Montano, T 160	166725	chytra	725-700 a.C.	Pithekoussai/ Kyme	?	Single	Fig. 17c	Pithekoussai 11
Samp16	Pithekoussai, Mazzola	70-89A	LG Attic style amphora	LG II	Pithekoussai/ Kyme	Pithekoussai/ Kyme	X003	Fig. 6e	Pithekoussai 12
Samp17	Pithekoussai, Mazzola	245582	Orientalizing plate	MPC	Pithekoussai/ Kyme	Pithekoussai/ Kyme	X003	Fig. 13c	Pithekoussai 13
Samp18	Pithekoussai, Mazzola	245565	Thapsos skyphos	LG I	Corinth	Northwest Peloponnese (Elis/Achaia)	X067	Fig. 5c	Pithekoussai 14
Samp19	Pithekoussai, Mazzola	245575	Thapsos skyphos	LG II	Pithekoussai/ Kyme	Pithekoussai/ Kyme	X003	Fig. 5d	Pithekoussai 15
Samp20	Pithekoussai, Mazzola	245567	Thapsos skyphos	LG I	Corinth	Northwest Peloponnese (Elis/Achaia)	X067	Fig. 5e	Pithekoussai 16
Samp21	Pithekoussai, Mazzola	245572	Aetos 666 kotyle	LG I	Pithekoussai/ Kyme	Pithekoussai/ Kyme	X118	Fig. 4b	Pithekoussai 17

Samp22	San Marzano sul Sarno, T 76	26005	Thapso kantharos	LG II	Corinth	?	?	Single	Fig. 5f-g	Sarno22
Samp23	San Valentino Torio, T 168	237461	Orientalizing oinochoe	EPC	Pithekoussai/Kyme	?	?	Single	Fig. 13d	Sarno23
Samp24	San Marzano sul Sarno, T 928	60524	Cesnola Style jar-hydria	LG I	Pithekoussai/Kyme	Pithekoussai/Kyme	X113	Single	Fig. 7c	Sarno24
Samp25	San Valentino Torio, T 1366	62013	Orientalizing oinochoe	MPC	Pithekoussai/Kyme	?	?	Single	Fig. 13e	Sarno25
Samp26	San Valentino Torio, T 168	236027	Euboian/Corinthian style crater	LG II/EPC	Pithekoussai/Kyme	Pithekoussai/Kyme	X113	Single	Fig. 7a	Sarno26
Samp27	San Valentino Torio, T 818	59903	Jug	675-650 a.C.	?	?	?	Single	Fig. 17b	Sarno27
Samp28	San Valentino Torio, T 818	69901	Orientalizing jug	675-650 a.C.	Pithekoussai/Kyme? Corinth?	Caere or Falerii	X056	Single	Fig. 17a	Sarno28
Samp29	San Marzano sul Sarno, T 277	277SN	Corinthian style crater	LG I	Pithekoussai/Kyme	Pithekoussai/Kyme	X118	Single	Fig. 7b	Sarno30
Samp30	San Marzano sul Sarno, T 73	25936	Aetos 666 skyphos	LG I	Corinthian	Pithekoussai/Kyme	X003	Single	Fig. 4c	Sarno31
Samp31	San Marzano sul Sarno, T 277	277.2	Orientalizing oinochoe	LG I	Pithekoussai/Kyme	Pithekoussai/Kyme	X118	Single	Fig. 8b	Sarno32
Samp32	San Marzano sul Sarno, T 277	277.1	LG style skyphos	LG I	Pithekoussai/Kyme?	?	X071	Single	Fig. 8d	Sarno33
Samp33	San Marzano sul Sarno, T 70	25894	LG style jug	LG II	Pithekoussai/Kyme?	?	X071	Single	Fig. 8c	Sarno34
Samp34	San Marzano sul Sarno, T 65	25835	LG style skyphos	LG I	Pithekoussai/Kyme	Pithekoussai/Kyme	X003	Single	Fig. 8f	Sarno35
Samp35	San Marzano sul Sarno, T 21	25347	Aetos 666 skyphos	LG I	Pithekoussai/Kyme	Pithekoussai/Kyme	X003	Single	Fig. 4d	Sarno36
Samp36	San Marzano sul Sarno, T 70	25893	Aetos 666 skyphos	LG II	Pithekoussai/Kyme	Pithekoussai/Kyme	X113	Single	Fig. 4e	Sarno37
Samp37	San Marzano sul Sarno, T 69	25885	LG style skyphos	LG I	Pithekoussai/Kyme?	?	X071	Single	Fig. 8e	Sarno38
Samp38	San Valentino Torio, T 178	241510	LG Corinthian style oinochoe	LG I	Pithekoussai/Kyme	Pithekoussai/Kyme	X003	Single	Fig. 8a	Sarno39
Samp39	San Valentino Torio, T 190	241693	feeding cup	LG I	Pithekoussai/Kyme	Pithekoussai/Kyme	X003	Single	Fig. 8g	Sarno40

Table 1: List of Samples

First of all, the pottery from Mazzola, an artisan district of residential character, is very fragmented. Broken pottery is not only more readable, but it is also easier to sample for the study. Moreover, the relative proximity of Mazzola to the Santa Restituta pottery workshop should guarantee the presence of locally produced material, and moreover, a provenance from settlement contexts also seems more convincing than any evidence coming from graves because pottery use in settlements is not subject to the typical choices that condition the construction of grave-gift assemblages, where a tendency to prefer items other than everyday ones is evident⁵⁸. Another 18 samples are from the Valle del Sarno (necropolis of San Marzano sul Sarno and San Valentino Torio). Our choice of this burial context is governed by its enormous quantity of Greek pottery – Phlegraean especially – that was arriving there since the first colonial activities, and indeed even before these⁵⁹. Actually, together with Pontecagnano and its territory, the Valle del Sarno must be considered one of the main interlocutors for the Greek coastal area. Our selection is based on synchronic and diachronic criteria; keeping in mind the feasibility of access to the necessary pottery, we selected samples belonging to different classes, as well as various production sources and of different ceramic shapes. Their chronology runs from the second quarter of the 8th century BC – which at Kyme should coincide with the last indigenous phase of the site – until the middle of the 7th century BC⁶⁰. This sampling is in keeping with existing clay databases, offering opportunities for immediate comparison, especially in the attempt to attribute the very first imports to a specific cultural horizon. The definition of these earliest im-

ports is, in fact, essential to understand the substratum from which the two sites arose and to help resolve part of the age-old problem of the actual role played by the Euboeans and/or their products in Mediterranean exchanges during the first half of the 8th century BC.

Based on the results obtained, the two chevrons bowls and the black cup from the Osta necropolis, dating from MG II (between 780 and 760 BC), are of Euboean production⁶¹ (Samp1-3, Fig. 3). They belong to indigenous burials 3 and 29, and must be ascribed to a period just before actual Greek colonial activity⁶². The data confirm the hypothesis elaborated by Bailo Modesti, who attributed the spread of this cup type to Euboean enterprise, which accompanied their metal acquisition activities in the West⁶³. This seems to be demonstrated not only by the presence of these objects on a route leading to such places but also by the location of *emporía* and future colonies at key points on this route⁶⁴. The Cu-

⁶¹ CRISCUOLO – PACCARELLI 2009, 342-344; for the dates of the types from Pontecagnano, KOUROU 2005, 502-504. At Pontecagnano, black cups arrive up to phase IIB and seem to reach period LG Ia. By NAA, the above cups all belong to chemical group X061, defined by Mommsen near – but not exactly overlapping – clay group EuA, located in central Euboea. Clay group X061 is similar in many features. As precise correspondence is lacking, it is difficult to say where exactly the cups come from, but Euboea is certainly the most likely option.

⁶² On the chronology D'AGOSTINO 2008, 174, 189. In a publication from 2004, setting out the fairly uncertain results of a previous sampling-and-analysis campaign of the above material, the difficulties in framing this pottery have already been described. At that time, it was already hoped that the use of NAA technology would be able to obtain better results, especially in view of all that it holds out in terms of defining exchanges, networks, contacts and distribution dynamics in such an elusive historical moment. For interpretative difficulties related to the production and dating of pottery from Pontecagnano, cf. BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 1999, 17-19, 21-22. See also JONES – BUXEDA I GARRIGÓS 2004, 89-94, a contribution in which NAA is desired, and an interpretative difficulty for the skyphoi from Cumae is found to be caused by the uncertainty as to its provenance being from Euboea or a local workshop. A resume on laboratory analyses was carried out in OLCESE 2017, 112-114. For the recent results of NAA regarding Euboean pottery, ceramics from several sites outside Greece and from Pontecagnano: MOMMSEN 2014.

⁶³ BAILO MODESTI 1998, 369-370, 374. For an outline – along with the aforementioned KOUROU 2005 – see *Eretria XX*, 75-82; D'AGOSTINO 2016, 99-100, with bibliography. Moreover, a burnt fragment of a chevrons cup comes from T. 111 of Montevetrano, a cremation burial in a bronze lebes of Euboean production, datable towards the middle of the 8th century BC: CERCHIAI – ROSSI – SANTORIello 2009, 81-82.

⁶⁴ RIDGWAY 2004; DOMÍNGUEZ MONEDERO 2008, 150-156, especially regarding Sicily.

⁵⁸ On the subject, NIZZO 2015, 25-27.

⁵⁹ Poggiomarino is another site in Campania – in addition to Pontecagnano – where a fragment of a pendant semicircle cup has been found: D'AGOSTINO 2016, 99. Three examples from Pre-Hellenic Kyme – during excavation campaigns of the University of Naples "L'Orientale" – may be added to this: see M. D'Acunzio's contribution in this volume.

⁶⁰ For this last time segment, several samples were taken from T. 818 at San Valentino Torio, dating from between 675 and 650 BC, which is the phase of decline of Pithecusan-Cumaeen pottery production. The Phlegraean pots in this elite woman's burial – one of the richest among the Valle del Sarno tombs – indicate that in this period, people still had a great preference for this kind of ware.



Fig. 3. a. Chevron skyphos from Kyme, T. 29 Osta (Inv. 129774); b. Chevron skyphos from Kyme, T. 3 Osta (Inv. 129850); c. Black cup from Kyme, T. 29 Osta (Inv. 129853)

maean contexts to which the cups belong seem to have been open to external influence and belonged to deceased females⁶⁵. In particular, T. 29 seems to belong to a high-ranking female burial, which confirms the management of hospitality relationships – of which the cups probably are a token – by the indigenous Cumaeian *elite*.

More difficult to gauge is the situation emerging from the sampling of five Aetos 666 cups, two from Pithekoussai (Mazzola, Samp9, Samp21, both datable to LG I) and three from the Valle del Sarno (San Marzano sul Sarno, T. 21, Samp35, LG I; T. 70, Samp36, LG II; T. 73, Samp30, LG I) (Fig. 4). The Aetos 666 cups are among the first products of the Pitheculan-Cumaeian workshops, and arrive in the Valle del Sarno as early as the third quarter of the 8th century BC⁶⁶. The NA results showed that the five samples belong to four different chemical groups, of which three are from

Phlegraeian contexts (X003, X113, X118) and one is linked to Euboean production (EuA)⁶⁷. The last had already been attributed to a local workshop on the basis of autoptic analyses. These results are really significant when we recall that Aetos 666 bowls are traditionally seen as Corinthian, so much so as to constitute one of the “type fossils” of the chrono-typological seriation of that production. NAA data confirm my results obtained years ago with the autoptic examination, by which pottery belonging to this class was attributed to local production. The scarcity of Aetos 666 cups that characterises Cumaeian archaeology has in the past been interpreted as an effect of a chronological gap between the start of Pithekoussai and the foundation of Cumae. However, recent excavations are certainly bridging this hiatus by turning up fragments that, at first examination, seem both imported and local⁶⁸.

⁶⁵ T. 29 also contains a *faïence* idol of the goddess Mut and glass beads pertaining to a necklace. On these burials and the difficult identification of the T. 3 deceased, ALBORE LIVADIE 1985, 70-71; NIZZO 2007a, 495-96, note 54, with bibliography; CRISCUOLO – PACCARELLI 2009, 337.

⁶⁶ For the terminology related to the description of these cups and their morphological and typological definition, MERMATI 2012a, 210, especially note 375. For the distribution of the Pitheculan-Cumaeian Aetos 666 cups, MERMATI 2012a, 109-110. The cups from the Valle del Sarno generally have a more distinct lip; D’AGOSTINO 1979, 61.

⁶⁷ Mazzola: Inv. 245572= X118; Inv. 245587= EuA; San Marzano sul Sarno: T. 21, Inv. 25347=X003; T. 70, Inv. 25893=X113; T. 277, Inv. 25936=X003.

⁶⁸ CRISCUOLO – PACCARELLI 2009, 344-345. The new finds in D’AGOSTINO – D’ACUNTO 2008, 513-514, fig. 30; more recently D’ACUNTO 2017, 298-307.



Fig. 4. Pithekoussai, Mazzola: a. Fragment of Aetos 666 cup (Inv. 245587); b. Aetos 666 cup (Inv. 245572). San Marzano sul Sarno: c. Aetos 666 cup from T. 73, drawing after d'AGOSTINO 1979 (Inv. 25936); d. Aetos 666 cup from T. 21, drawing after d'AGOSTINO 1970 (Inv. 25347); e. Aetos 666 cup from T. 70, drawing after d'AGOSTINO 1979 (Inv. 25893)



Fig. 5. Pithekoussai, Mazzola: a. Fragment of Thapsos-type skyphos with panel (Inv. 245589); b. Fragment of Thapsos-type closed shape vessel (Inv. 245596); c. Fragments of Thapsos-type skyphos with panel (Inv. 245565); d. Fragment of Thapsos-type skyphos without panel (Inv. 245575); e. Fragment of Thapsos-type skyphos with panel (Inv. 245567). San Marzano sul Sarno: f. Thapsos-type kantharos from T. 76 (Inv. 26005); g. Details of restoration of the kantharos from T. 76 (Inv. 26005)

Six samples were taken from five skyphoi with and without panels and a kantharos with a meander decoration, related to the Thapsos Class (Pithekoussai, Mazzola, LG I: Samp10-11, Samp18, Samp20; LG II: Samp19; San Marzano sul Sarno: T. 76, Samp22, LG II)⁶⁹ (Fig. 5). The results showed that the samples belong to different groups: one is to be considered Phlegraean (X003); one probably from Campania (X121); one already located in the northwestern Peloponnese, at Elis or Achaia

⁶⁹ Regarding the skyphoi, we preferred to sample more cups of the panel type than ones without a panel because of the relevance of the former to the LG I period – the oldest production period. This dating seems valid for the Phlegraean sites, as it could be determined both by associations of objects in the graves and by stratigraphic relationships between burials, which place the panel type in the third quarter of the 8th century BC. The type without a panel, decorated with lines over its upper part and a lower monochrome part, seems to last until the end of the century; MERMATI 2012a, 204-205.

(X067), and two without comparisons⁷⁰. Both vessels ascribed to a northwestern Peloponnesian production had earlier been considered Corinthian, due to the workmanship of the vessel and the clay characteristics. Noteworthy is the fact that especially the Thapsos Class, generally considered easily identifiable by the macroscopic characteristics of its fabrics and by its stylistic peculiarities, is the most difficult one to attribute to the correct production areas. In fact, the fragments taken into consideration show an interesting heterogeneity of clays, coupled with an apparent external homogeneity: out of six samples, three had been considered of local production, but only one really is.

⁷⁰ Mazzola: Inv. 245565=X067; Inv. 245567=X067; Inv. 245575=X003; Inv. 245589=X121; Inv. 245596=single; San Marzano sul Sarno: T. 76, Inv. 26005=single.

As is known, this class is traditionally considered Corinthian, albeit with some uncertainty. A recent classification, however, by Anastasia Gadoiou, comes to the conclusion that the Thapsos pottery style constitutes a cultural *koinè* rather than a shared material culture. Although the place of origin probably was somewhere in Achaia, there are a lot of other places where this kind of pottery was produced. This widely spread production is taken as proof of a desire to share ways of wine drinking, a sign of this being identical pottery shapes in use over a wide area. The selection, in fact, seems to favour skyphoi, kantharoi and craters and is particularly evident in the colonies of Magna Grecia and Sicily⁷¹. This invites us to rethink previous theories on trade routes leading from Greece proper to the south Italian coasts because the new results obtained on the Phlegraean pottery confirm the existence of many production centres operating in different regions, all involved in the exchange process. The role of Corinth should perhaps be more reduced and, in any case, a more prominent role reserved for colonial productions.

A number of Euboean-style objects were also sampled. They are dated to the second half of the 8th century BC, between LG I and II (Pithekoussai, Mazzola, LG I: Samp12-13; San Marzano sul Sarno, LG I: Samp24, Samp29, Samp39) (Figs. 7b-c, 8g). They are traditionally linked to Pithekoussai and its highest chronology and production background⁷². Of these, the crater from Mazzola decorated with geometric motifs, earlier attributed to a local workshop (Samp12, Fig. 6a), is Euboean. To Euboea, we must also attribute the T. 277 crater and

the T. 190 feeding cup from San Marzano⁷³ (Samp29, Samp39, Figs. 7b, 8g). The two vases decorated in the Cesnola Painter Style (one from Mazzola, Samp13, and the T. 928 olla-hydria from San Marzano sul Sarno, Samp24), attributed to Phlegraean workshops, were actually produced in Pithecusan-Cumaean workshops (Figs. 6b, 7c). The clay of the long-neck aryballos from the necropolis of Kyme, Samp5, dated to between LG I and LG II, found no match. Unfortunately, coming from the Stevens collection, the find context of the vessel is unknown (Fig. 10). The pot can be linked to the G1α Pithecusan-Cumaean types, the spherical body and long neck with large disc mouth, which derive from Cretan prototypes. Kees Neeft had already noticed its Euboean-style appearance⁷⁴.

At this point, it is worth adding a discussion on a number of fragments recovered during the “Kyme Project” campaigns. The fragments belong, because of their specific morphological and decorative characteristics, to Euboean-style pottery. Although the sherds have not been subjected to NA analysis, they are particularly useful here because they help rectify the well-known imbalance between Pithekoussai and Kyme in relation to the oldest evidence. Hitherto the coastal city appeared less strongly characterised by a Euboean background, which is such a strong Pithecusan characteristic. A residual fragment of a skyphos should be mentioned – apparently not of local origin and perhaps of Euboean production (Fig. 11a). It comes from the Forum area, from the abandonment layers of the residential and craft building to the west of the Tempio con Portico⁷⁵. The skyphos has lines on the exterior lip and at the upper part of the shoulder, while vertical zigzags/*sigmas* are painted at the point of maximum expansion of the bowl. The interior is monochrome. The profile of

⁷¹ GADOLOU 2011, 1-4, 18, with bibliography; GADOLOU 2017, especially 325-327, 335-339. At this point, we should ask ourselves why and how drinking customs related to the areas of production of the Thapsos Class pottery are more attractive than other contemporary ones. It is perhaps necessary to attribute the widespread interest for this class – which appears to be generalised in the second half of the 8th century BC – to commercial dynamics, itineraries, routes and cargo combinations still not clear to us. On the other hand, an interesting approach has been recently proposed, which advises greater attention to the material and functional characteristics of pottery classes connected to wine consumption. These preferences would have facilitated their diffusion and circulation between the Mediterranean East and West in connection with sympotic practices; GIMATZIDIS 2017.

⁷² Mazzola: Inv. 245600=EuA; Inv. 245602=X003; San Marzano sul Sarno: T. 190, Inv. 241510=X003; T. 277, Inv. 277SN=X118; T. 928, Inv. 237461=X113.

⁷³ On the crater, D'AGOSTINO 1979, 71; on the feeding cup MERMATI 2012a, 116, type R2βI, 216-217, with previous bibliography.

⁷⁴ MERMATI 2012a, 85-86, 169, with the previous bibliography. Because of the decoration with grazing hinds on the shoulder, Benson had already included it in the Corinthian Hirschkuhgruppe, while Neeft – talking about the Doe Group – considered it «a Pithecusan imitation of the tall-necked Euboean variety», meaning by *Euboean* the long-necked aryballos attested in the Euboean-style production of Pithekoussai: NEEFT 1987, 76-77, with previous bibliography.

⁷⁵ US 21153.

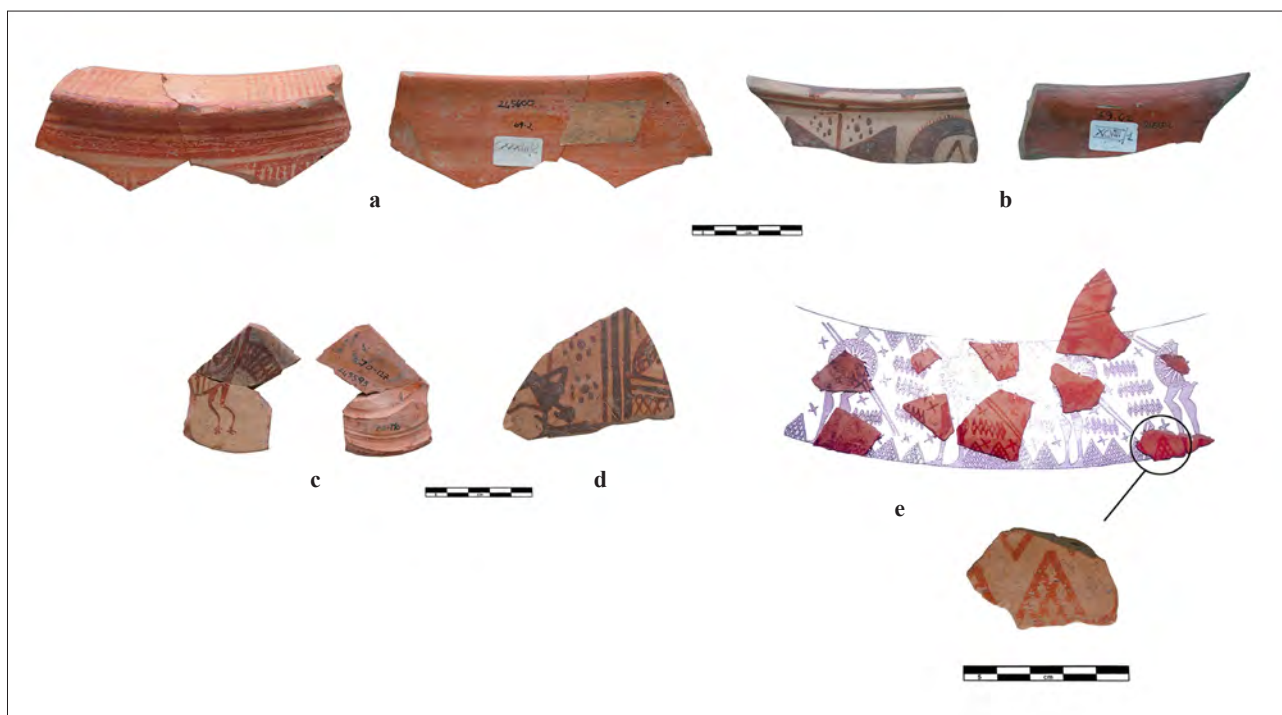


Fig. 6. Pithekoussai, Mazzola: a. Fragment of LG I crater (Inv. 245600); b. Fragment of Cesnola-style crater (Inv. 245602); c. Fragment of LG I open shape vessel (Inv. 245595); d. Fragment of LG I amphora (Inv. 245610); e. Fragments of LG II amphora (Inv. 70-89A)

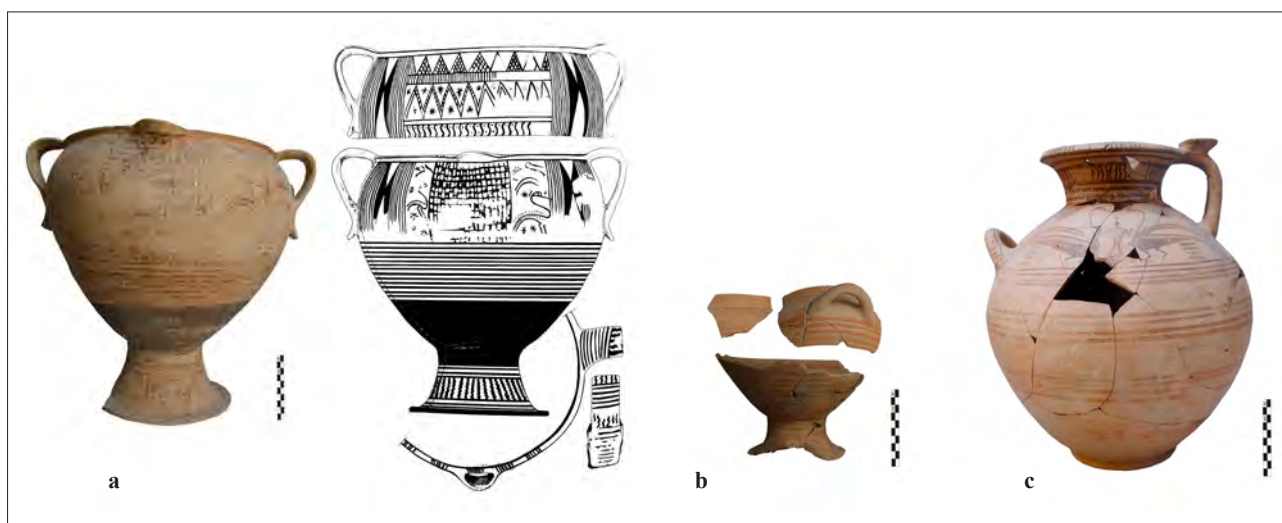


Fig. 7. a. LG II/EPC crater from San Valentino Torio, T. 168, drawing after d'AGOSTINO 1979 (Inv. 236027); b. LG I crater from San Marzano sul Sarno, T. 277 (Inv. 277SN); c. LG I jar-hydria from San Marzano sul Sarno, T. 928 (Inv. 60524)

the bowl – globular and with a high lip – and the characteristics of the decoration place the vessel among the more typical types of Eretrian MG II⁷⁶. These have a profile corresponding to contempo-

⁷⁶ *Eretria XX*, 73-74, pl. 89. An identical skyphos is no. 213, coming from well 10 and dated between GR I-II. The proposed comparisons are, however, all to be placed in MG II; *Eretria XX*, 55, 126, pl. 49, 101.

rary Attic cups and are characterised by variously everted lips, convex bellies and medium sizes. The monochrome paint on the inside and the vertical zigzags of the decoration – which should be read as a variant of chevrons and apparently covered all space between the handles – also point to MG II. From the same context are two fragments of the lip and neck of LG II amphorae (Fig. 11b).

The fragments are from two vases, both large in size, that may be attributed to non-Phlegraeon workshops after an autoptic analysis of the clay⁷⁷. The vessels are evidently connected to the well-known amphora from San Montano T. 1000 with the decoration of a lion or a wolf with a wide-open mouth. Its dependence on Attic and Boeotian prototypes has already been highlighted⁷⁸. The type, the lip of which has many morphological variations, is characteristic of the Euboean repertoire and shares the *tremuli* decoration with crater feet⁷⁹.

The sampled material also includes some Attic pottery or Attic-style pottery. Among these are two fragmentary vases from Mazzola, both attributed to local production and dated between LG I and II (Samp14, Samp16, Figs. 6d-e). Of these, however, only the second, a very fragmentary amphora with warriors, is made of local clay (X003), while the first, with the representation of a pierced warrior, is made with a kind of clay that hitherto has no context. On the other hand, an oinochoe with spherical body and high neck from the necropolis of Kyme was produced in Attica (Samp4, clay group KrPPS). It was in the Stevens Collection and had no provenance (Fig. 9)⁸⁰. Incredibly, it has remained unpublished so far, but it was already considered Attic by this present author after a personal examination. The oinochoe must be included with the typical products of the Dipylon Master's circle, dated to LG Ib. It presents the star at the front of the shoulder that derives from MG II prototypes. At the neck panel, one finds the canonical

motif of the grazing hind with a star. The monochrome body interspersed with lines is typical of the series⁸¹.

The quantity and variety of imports are also evident from the NAA result of an open-shaped vessel – perhaps a plate – from Mazzola, dated LG I, and with an absolutely original bird decoration⁸² (Samp8, Fig. 6c). This, with spread wings and parallel feet rendered in detail, recalls Boeotian or Cretan prototypes⁸³. Although always considered local, it belongs instead to a group of which it is the only sample so far.

The globular oinochoe from San Valentino Torio T. 178 is instead a typical product of the Phlegraeon workshops, showing strong Corinthian inspiration and among the first of type A1 subtype⁸⁴ (Samp38, Fig. 8a). The object belongs to the X003 clay group, used in Pithecusan-Cumaeon production. The same applies to the famous crater from T. 168 of that necropolis. It shows a strong Corinthian-Euboean influence and has been attributed to Pithecusan production since its first publication⁸⁵ (Samp26, Fig. 7a). This is confirmed by NA analysis (chemical group X113). The oinochoe from T. 277⁸⁶, Samp31, and the cup from T. 65⁸⁷ of the San Marzano sul Sarno necropolis, Samp34, are also of Phlegraeon manufacture (Figs. 8b, f). In the past, the latter had been linked to two cups, respectively from tombs 277 and 69 at San Marzano, but these are made from clay used only for vessels found at Sarno Valley (X071). They should be considered “probably from Campania” but have yet to find their proper place⁸⁸ (Samp32,

⁷⁷ The fragments also come from US 21153. They are already published as a single vase and have been interpreted as a crater foot: GRECO 2008, 400, fig. 10.b. Support for an interpretation rather as a rim is the band painted at the inside – immediately below the rim – and the upper face of the lip, which is painted at its edge. Perhaps the fragment from the fortifications of Kyme TTA1, with the same band inside, should also be read as a neck and not as a foot: CUOZZO – B. D'AGOSTINO – L. DEL VERME 2006, 20, 154, no. 1, fig. 45, pl. 2 A, TTA1.

⁷⁸ The vase is used in an *enchytrismos* at a place in the necropolis attributed to emerging groups; CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2012-2013, 34, 38, 54, fig. 7.1, where the vessel is referred to as a “crater”. Martelli attributes it to a Boeotian workshop; MARTELLI 2008, 16. For the detailed analysis of the amphora, D'AGOSTINO 1999; on type and classification, MERMATI 2012a, 188-189, type K2, no. K03.

⁷⁹ COLDSTREAM 1968a, pl. 41 e, 45 c-d; *Zagora* 2, 204, pl. 135 a (craters); 208-209, pl. 243 a-b (crater), and 217 c-d (amphora); *Eretria XVII*, pl. 121, 1, 2, 7; pl. 122. 2; pl. 193, 2; *Eretria XX*, 103, 131, no. 355, pl. 73.

⁸⁰ Inv. SN01.

⁸¹ COLDSTREAM 1968a, 32, no. 37 (Agora P 15122), 34, pl. 5 b, 7 b-c.

⁸² MERMATI 2012a, pl. VI, no. 46, wrongly interpreted as a crater fragment.

⁸³ On the Cretan production, especially the so-called “Cretan Bird Workshop”; COLDSTREAM 1968a, 246-248, nos. 2, 7, pl. 54 a-c.

⁸⁴ Inv. 241510. For the vessel MERMATI 2012a, 54, cat. A35, with bibliography; for the type 53-54, 137, 140-141.

⁸⁵ Inv. 236027, MERMATI 2012a, 98, 193-194, cat. L08, with bibliography.

⁸⁶ Inv. 277.2=X118; D'AGOSTINO 1979, 69, fig. 40, 1. B. d'Agostino had already considered it the product of a north-Campanian workshop because of the characteristics of the decoration and the macroscopic analysis of the clay. It had seemed Phlegraeon to me after its recent restoration.

⁸⁷ Inv. 25835=X003; D'AGOSTINO 1979, 59-60, fig. 34, defined “ad angoli” (tipo 4).

⁸⁸ The three bowls from tombs 65, 69 and 277 have been characterised by d'Agostino as «accomunate da un'aria di famiglia».

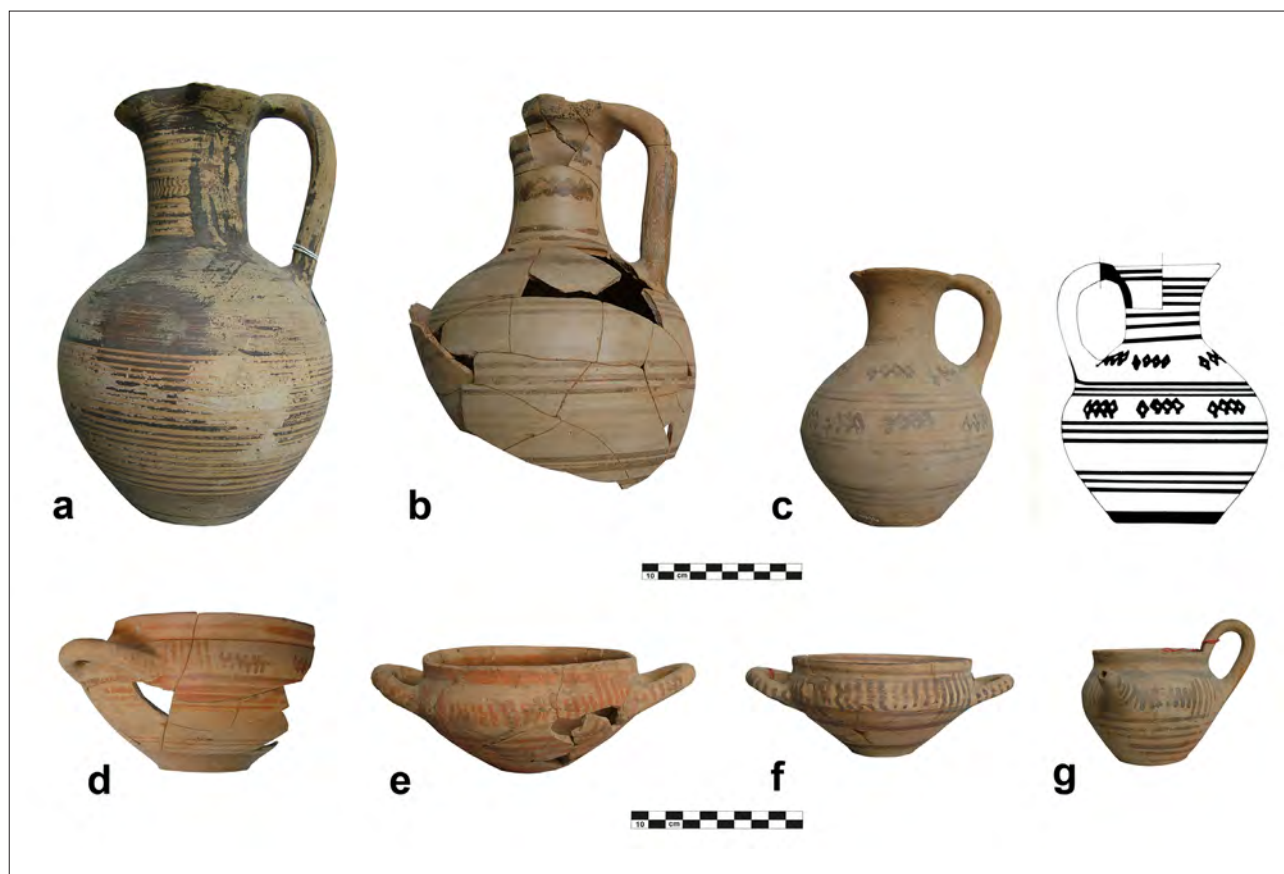


Fig. 8. San Valentino Torio: a. LG I oinochoe from T. 178 (Inv. 241510). San Marzano sul Sarno: b. LG I oinochoe from T. 277 (Inv. 277.2); c. LG II jug from T. 70, drawing after d'AGOSTINO 1979 (Inv. 25894); d. LG I skyphos from T. 277 (Inv. 277.1); e. LG I skyphos from T. 69 (Inv. 25885); f. LG I skyphos from T. 65 (Inv. 25835). San Valentino Torio: g. LG I feeding cup from T. 190 (Inv. 241693)



Fig. 9. Dipylon Master's circle oinochoe from Kyme (SN01)



Fig. 10. LG I-II aryballos from Kyme, T. LII (Inv. 128333)

Samp37, Fig. 8d-e). The same clay was used for a jug found in T. 70 of the latter necropolis. The present author considered the pot as made of Phlegraean clay, but with reservations⁸⁹ (Samp33, Fig 8c).

The samples contained a number of objects dated between EPC and MPC and inspired by contemporary Corinthian pottery. These include some of the most characteristic products attributed to local manufacture, such as a fragment of a lekythos with snake decoration on its shoulder (Samp6) and a fragmentary oinochoe from the Ischia-Cuma-Tarquinia Group (Samp7), both from the Kyme necropolis and currently lacking context, as well as a fragmentary plate with flaring lip from Mazzola (Samp17), dating to the first quarter of the 7th century BC⁹⁰ (Fig. 13a-c). The objects belong to chemical group X003 and are covered with a thick slip, perhaps aimed at imitating Corinthian clay.

The result concerning the Ischia-Cuma-Tarquinia oinochoe is particularly indicative. The pedigree of this type of oinochoai is well known, as well as the influence it exerted on the classification of Italo-Geometric pottery, not only in the Campanian area. While the decorations of this group are eccentric as a result of the various influences in operation in the workshops of Pithekoussai and Kyme, the attempt to order the individual objects in relation to *ateliers* and places of provenance has recently led to unsystematic and far from analytical approaches. These initially try to define further subgroups to trace their origin but subsequently amalgamate them into larger series. In the latter, vessels are grouped after various prototypes, resulting in a “deconstruction” of the entire Class by ascribing it to the most general Pithecusan-Cumaeae production. Such an effort has recently affected the Ischia-Cuma-Tarquinia oinochoai from Pontecagnano, a site which developed its own ver-

sions of these vessels⁹¹. They are attributed to “Pithecusan Workshops” and defined as belonging to «più serie di tipo protocorinzio strettamente interrelate»⁹². Various groups are distinguished and isolated mainly by autoptic examination⁹³. The first of these groups includes oinochoai with linear decoration that are referred to as being produced at Pithekoussai and/or Kyme, but also as related to the Ischia-Cuma-Tarquinia Group as traditionally proposed. This also includes objects with plant-like decoration on the body, linked to the proto-Corinthian Cumae Group and the decoration of which – at least in the proposed examples – seems to deviate significantly from the Pithecusan-Cumaeae iconographic schemes, where they find no exact comparisons⁹⁴.

⁹¹ This attempt is CUOZZO 2015, where, unfortunately, a quantification of objects *in situ*, a typology and a catalogue are lacking and only a summary is given. The work generically refers to «analisi archeometriche» carried out on the specimens presented in the contribution, but their nature is not explained. Nor is the extent of the sampling clarified (CUOZZO 2015, 223, note 16). This concerns grave goods from 1200 graves, within which a selection has been made for obvious reasons. On the other hand, data are provided on relative percentages. Mention of archaeometric analysis can be found in notes 6, 16 and 18, but not the methodological choices nor the logic underlying the work. A results diagram is the graph in CUOZZO 2015, 224, fig. 10; the term “deconstruct” is used in CUOZZO 2015, 225.

⁹² The definition of “Pithecusan Workshop” is explicitly connected in this work with the definition espoused by Neeft, mentioned above. However, as we have seen, and as it appears from Cuozzo’s work, the objects are no longer ascribable in any way only to the island production, which means that his attribution to painters must be reviewed in the light of the overall study of the evidence.

⁹³ CUOZZO 2015, 223-225, and especially on the criteria used to define the series, note 16.

⁹⁴ See e.g. the vase from T. 243, 215, fig. 2 (image in the centre), and 222, fig. 9 (bottom right). In particular, the presence of the chequer pattern on the neck of the vase is unique for A6 type oinochoai, to which the object obviously belongs morphologically. It recalls instead the cylindrical body of the vase from Terneuzen, connected with another known from San Montano T. 649 at Pithekoussai, most likely by the same hand. The groups of lines that border the top and bottom of the chequers are also drawn (it seems) freehand and without the help of a multiple brush, which is canonical in the Pithecusan-Cumaeae production. The lack of rays bordering the main frieze at the top and bottom seems to link the vase in fig. 2 to the Cumae Group, although the plant frieze appears closer to those with chains of palmettes and lotus flowers inspired by Corinthian prototypes with similar decorations, on which see *infra*. On these vessels, the main motif may also be on the shoulder. This last feature allows us to conceptually distance the vases decorated with fishes and snakes on the body – which seem to be a creation of the Phlegraean workshops – from those with other decorative motifs

Those from tombs 69 and 277 are similar to chevrons cups, which in this case are freely drawn in their panel: D’AGOSTINO 1979, 59-60, 62-63, fig. 34 (coppe del tipo a chevrons, tipo 1).

⁸⁹ Inv. 25894; D’AGOSTINO 1979, 70, fig. 34.

⁹⁰ On the lekythos cf. MERMATI 2012a, 80, cat. D85; on the oinochoe GRECO – MERMATI 2007, 325, no. 2, 326, fig. 9; MERMATI 2012a, 60, cat. A211; on the plate (Inv. 245582) MERMATI 2012a, 124, cat. U15. The plate with the flaring rim is obviously part of the group inspired by Phoenician models but with Corinthian decoration; MERMATI 2012a, 222-226, with bibliography.

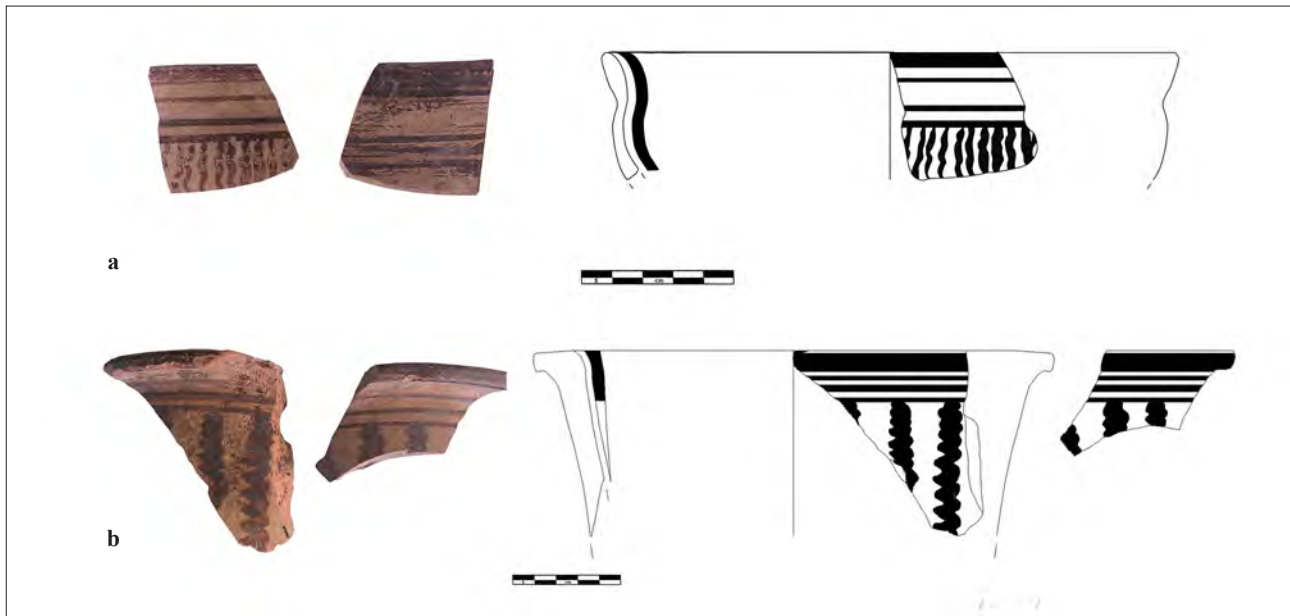


Fig. 11. a. Fragment of MG II skyphos from Kyme, Forum (US 21153); b. Fragments of LG II amphorae from Kyme, Forum (US 21153)



Fig. 12. a-b. Kyme, Forum, fragments of MPC plates (Inv. K21083, K21149); c. Kyme, Acropolis MPC-LPC kotyle (Inv. SN15)



Fig. 13. a. Kyme, fragment of EPC lekythos (Inv. SN02); b. Kyme, fragments of Ischia-Cuma-Tarquinia oinochoe (Inv. SN03); c. Pithekoussai, Mazzola, MPC plate (Inv. 245582); d. San Valentino Torio, EPC oinochoe from T. 168 (Inv. 237461); e. San Valentino Torio, MPC oinochoe from T. 1366 (Inv. 62013)

The stylistic distinction between vessels with large fishes – interpreted as *sparidae* – and vases decorated with tuna fish may perhaps be ascribed to several painters' hands, albeit inspired by the same decorative scheme. In fact, the fish motif may be split up into a number of variations. An

example is the Shipwreck Crater with its fish-shaped representations showing monstrous man-eating fishes – the so-called κήτεα – and small harmless fishes witnessing the scene (Fig. 14a)⁹⁵. Although Giorgio Buchner said that «il pittore del cratere del naufragio pitecusano certamente non ha mai visto di persona uno squalo»⁹⁶, the largest fish in the frieze, which holds a man's head in his mouth is – because of its first, pointed and triangular, dorsal fin – clearly a shark. No other fishes characterised in this way are present on Pithecan-Cumae vases: this absence contradicts the discoverer of Pithekoussai by ascertaining that such an unusual choice must result from direct observation and aimed at representing the most dramatic scene of the whole production. Also, one should not forget that in the female burial T. 488 at San Montano, dated LG I-II, a shark tooth was found (*Prionace glauca*), used as a pendant⁹⁷. Discoveries at Punta Chiarito are compatible with fishing for large pelagic fish by *palangrese* (or *palamito*), suggesting to some scholars the presence of such an installation there⁹⁸. On a crater fragment from the Capitolium at the Kyme Forum, certainly of local LG II production, part of a large fish of κήτος type appears. It was part of a fish frieze bordered (apparently) by plant motifs, perhaps palmette/lotus flowers. These elements demonstrate the ability of Cumae vases painters to combine motifs taken from different repertoires⁹⁹. Even the fishes on the Picentino vases, interpreted as *sparidae*, should rather be read as κήτεα. The scene on the well-known, mid-7th century BC plate from T 65 of Acqua Acetosa Laurentina also helps (Fig. 14c). On its exterior, a monstrous fish attacking a boat and swallowing a sailor, whose leg protrudes from its beak, is depicted. In its body shape, fan-shaped tail, gills and beak indicated by a horizontal line, the fish appears very similar to the representations from Pontecagnano (Fig. 14b). The position of the fins also suggests inspiration from the

⁹⁵ BRUNNSÄKER 1962, especially 18.

⁹⁶ BUCHNER 1992, 66.

⁹⁷ BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 492, nos. 488-9 (Inv. 167921), pls. CLXV, 145.

⁹⁸ ALECU 2004, 132-134 and note 68, 147 with interpretation as a shark of the fish on the Shipwreck Crater.

⁹⁹ RESCIGNO 2009, 95-96, fig. 6.1; MERMATI 2012a, fr. L 14, 103.

inspired by other groups and models; Cuzzo 2015, 224-225. On the type A6 oinochoai cf. MERMATI 2012a, 144-146; on the vase from Terneuzen and the morphological type A5 to which it belongs cf. GRECO – MERMATI 2007, 317-318, fig. 1 and note 30; MERMATI 2012a, 59, 139, 143. On plant-shaped decoration on oinochoai MERMATI 2012a, 145.

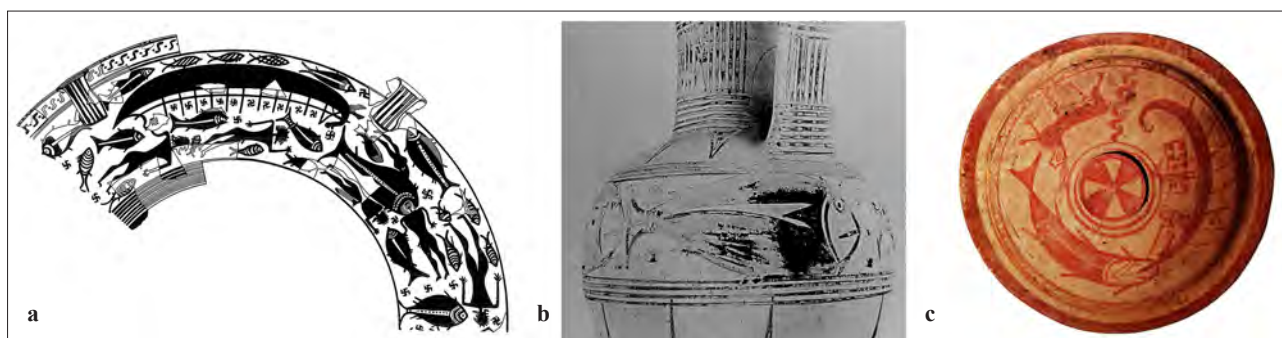


Fig. 14. a. Pithekoussai, San Montano necropolis, Shipwreck Krater (after BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993); b. Pontecagnano, Oinochoe from T. 2497 (after CUOZZO 2015); c. Acqua Acetosa Lauretina, Plate from T. 65 (after MARTELLI 2000)

Phlegraean tuna original, here reinterpreted as a man-eating monster¹⁰⁰. The attribution of the tuna vases to Kyme rather than Pithekoussai does not seem justified by only stylistic and autoptic clay observation¹⁰¹. In fact, from the same clay of group X003 from which the oinochoe Ischia-Cuma-Tarquiniia from Kyme was made, the majority of the products subjected to NA analysis are also made, but they are very different from each other in distribution, chronology, typology and manufacture¹⁰².

In relation to the question of production – but not that of the Ischia-Cuma-Tarquiniia Group to which it does not belong – an oinochoe from T. 6129 of Pontecagnano is remarkable (Fig. 15a)¹⁰³. It belongs to the so-called Fascia/Doppia Raggiera Group, not hitherto attested for Pithekoussai, and

provisionally attributed to Kyme¹⁰⁴. It is interesting, however, that the greatest number of the group occurs at Pontecagnano, where they seem to be the work of a local painter. The silhouetted legs represented at the neck were read as being shod feet, leaping in some dance step, to be attributed to a komast and a symposiac moment, with aristocratic consumption of wine. In the same paper, a connection is stressed between this representation of legs and a chain of highly stylised, regimented figures on the neck of an oinochoe from T. 1836, evidently deriving from the more usual lozenge chains of Corinthian-type regimented birds. The latter vase is of local production and may help in reading the first one because it allows reference to a χορός (Fig. 15b). The outlined figures are linked together in a synchronized movement all in one direction that cannot be associated with komast images. Mostly komasts are represented as single dancers, facing each other in individual or – more rarely – grouped choreographies, without physical contact. Also, a connection between komasts and symposiac activities is – especially because the objects date back to a very ancient phase – not at all obvious. They may also be females and involved in funerary, religious or festive contexts¹⁰⁵. In addition, oinochoai usually do not represent komasts. The

¹⁰⁰ Inv. 293975. MARTELLI 2000, 92, 263, fig. 39; CERCHIAI 2002; COLONNA 2014, 29, fig. 10. According to Cristofani it is a fishing scene; CRISTOFANI 1983, 28, fig. 12. What looks like a leg could also be the rudder of the boat, which was left lying free after it was used to gaff or club the fish. For the shape of the boats in this chronological phase, see CASSON 1971, 43-60; WACHSMANN 2019, 34-36. The term κῆτος is significantly used also by Athenaios and Arcestratos to mean large tuna fishes; ATH. VII 303; ARCESTR. Fr. 34.3. For *cetaceae* in the Greek world and for the use of the term κῆτος that can refer – in addition to whales and sea monsters in general – to large fish, PAPADOPOULOS – RUSCILLO 2002, 201-222. The text also mentions the connection between Euboea and the myth of Pelops's shoulder bone – according to some referring to that of a whale. For sea monsters – the κῆται – in the Greek world, see also SZABO 2008, 34-38. For the exploitation of the whale – κῆτος par excellence – in the ancient Mediterranean, BERNAL-CASOLA *et al.* 2016. For the definition of the fish-shaped representations in the Pitheculan-Cumaean repertoire, I thank Alfredo Carannante, who provided me with useful suggestions.

¹⁰¹ CUOZZO 2015, 225-228.

¹⁰² See the conclusions *infra*.

¹⁰³ CUOZZO 2015, 228-232, figs. 3, 15.

¹⁰⁴ On the group MERMATI 2012a, 149-150.

¹⁰⁵ On komasts the literature is extensive, see above all – in addition to SMITH 2010 – SMITH 2004, 11, 19-20. On the interpretative difficulty of komasts representations – which cannot be associated in a clear and unambiguous way with dramatic action, Dionysian ritual or occasions related to drinking in community, but which can also be linked to Hephaistos, SMITH 2009, 70-71, 75-76; for dances and komasts, the iconography of the latter seems to be fixed in the second half of the 7th century BC, SMITH 2016, 145-157, with bibliography.

vessel type is less related to wine than cups and craters, and at least at Pithekoussai, it may also have contained water¹⁰⁶. The folded arms of the figures seem to allude to a χορός too, the dancers holding onto each other by the arm or by the hand. With dancers in Attic and Argive LG representations, linked to festive occasions dedicated to the coming-of-age of young people, this is one of the typical positions¹⁰⁷ (Fig. 15d). The connection of other representations on Pitheculan-Cumaeon vases with Attic and Argive repertoires has already been outlined elsewhere, and is even more significant if we consider the rarity of anthropomorphic images on Phlegraeon objects. In particular, the scene painted on the neck of the barrel lekythos from T 984 at San Montano, with a dance scene of maidens, seems to refer to a similar ritual context¹⁰⁸. In the case of the Picentino oinochoe, given the extreme stylisation of the figures, we are unable to interpret the context of the dance: it could be a χορός connected to rites-of-passage of age and/or marriage. For example, the image on an LG crater from the Argive Heraion with a female χορός preceded by a παῖς ἀμφιθαλής, a naked young man who performs an acrobatic jump (Fig. 15c), seems to refer to a similar sacred occasion. The figure shows an identical rendering of the movement of the legs on the vase from T. 6129 of Pontecagnano¹⁰⁹. Another compelling comparison is a scene painted on an Attic LG kantharos from the end of the 8th century BC, now in the National Museum in Athens (NM 14477) and attributed to the Burly Workshop (Fig. 15e). The main frieze

between the handles shows four men dancing, preceded by a *phorminx* player. Among the male figures, who seem to represent various dance movements in slow motion, we see a dancer – naked like his companions – performing a jump while bringing his hands up. An identical jump is performed by a dancer on a skyphos from Eretria (end of 8th century BC), rendered next to a stylised lyre, which probably alludes to a similar ritual occasion exemplified by the musical instrument¹¹⁰. On representations of ritual dances in Phlegraeon vase paintings, we must remember the famous oinochoe, kept in the British Museum in London, with a *geranos* representation and perhaps portraying the kidnapping of Ariadne by Theseus. Coldstream attributed the vessel to a painter of Euboean inspiration, perhaps Pitheculan¹¹¹.

In Pitheculan-Cumaeon production, images connected to a female regenerative divinity, venerated by dance performances, should be mentioned here. First of all, there is the winged figure rendered on the crater fragment signed by *-inos*, to be interpreted as a highly stylised image of the *Potnia Theron*. The same female figure, rendered on the crater Sp 1/5 from San Montano, has been interpreted elsewhere as a blessing figure, human or divine. A *Potnia Theron* is also in evidence on the olla-hydria from the Sarno Valley, on which a tree of life also appears, flanked by goats in the typical schema of the Cesnola Painter Style, which formed also the inspiration for the lekythos decoration from T. 967 of San Montano. That these decorative

¹⁰⁶ MERMATI 2012a, 135. Although it is generally an element of the basic drinking set, consisting of a pouring vessel and cup, its precise function and meaning in the context of the funeral ritual remains uncertain. The different status of this shape compared to that of the cups has recently been underlined after a study of the distribution of imported and local vases in the tombs of the necropolis of San Montano at Ischia; DONNELLAN 2020, 128-132, 137-139.

¹⁰⁷ LANGDON 2008, 143-196; D'ACUNTO 2016. Dancers in a position identical to that on the Pontecagnano oinochoe are, for example, on an Attic amphora in a private collection at Düsseldorf, for which see WEGNER 1968, pl. 5b; D'ACUNTO 2016, 219, fig. 14. For the difficulty of reading the scenes as χοροί in this chronological phase, ROCCO 2015, 68-68, 84-86.

¹⁰⁸ MERMATI 2020, 373-377.

¹⁰⁹ LANGDON 2008, 185-186, fig. 3.27; D'ACUNTO 2016, 230-232, fig. 17. Nothing points to the feet of the legs on the oinochoe as being shod. They seem rather bare.

¹¹⁰ ANDREIOMENOU 1981, pl. 26, 129; BOARDMAN 1990, 367-368.

¹¹¹ COLDSTREAM 1968b, oinochoe Inv. 1849,0518.18; LANGDON 2008, 177-178, fig. 3. 24; D'ACUNTO 2016, 209-210, fig. 2. A connection between the chains of small Corinthian birds, stylised to become lozenges, and the *geranos* – the “crane dance” – was also recently hypothesised by Piero Bartoloni for a motif on an ovoid amphora at Mozia by referring to the Euboean iconographic repertoire influenced by the Corinthian one; BARTOLONI 2020, 128-129. An extreme stylisation of the rows of birds that assume almost anthropomorphic features is already visible on some vases of Pitheculan-Cumaeon production (Figs. 16c, e). Similar stylized birds also characterise the group of aryballoi of the Pittore degli Uccelli a Forcella; MERMATI 2012a, 174-175 (Fig. 16d). The decoration on the neck of the oinochoai from tombs 1785 and 2543 (or 2545?, the proposed image seems out of order with the context numbers) of Pontecagnano, work of the same artist of the vase from T 1836, is interpreted as «danzatori o forse anche teorie di scimmie», it seems rather a variation of the lozenges/birds chain motif, without any apparent anthropomorphisation (Figs. 16a-b); CUOZZO 2015, 230, fig. 17.

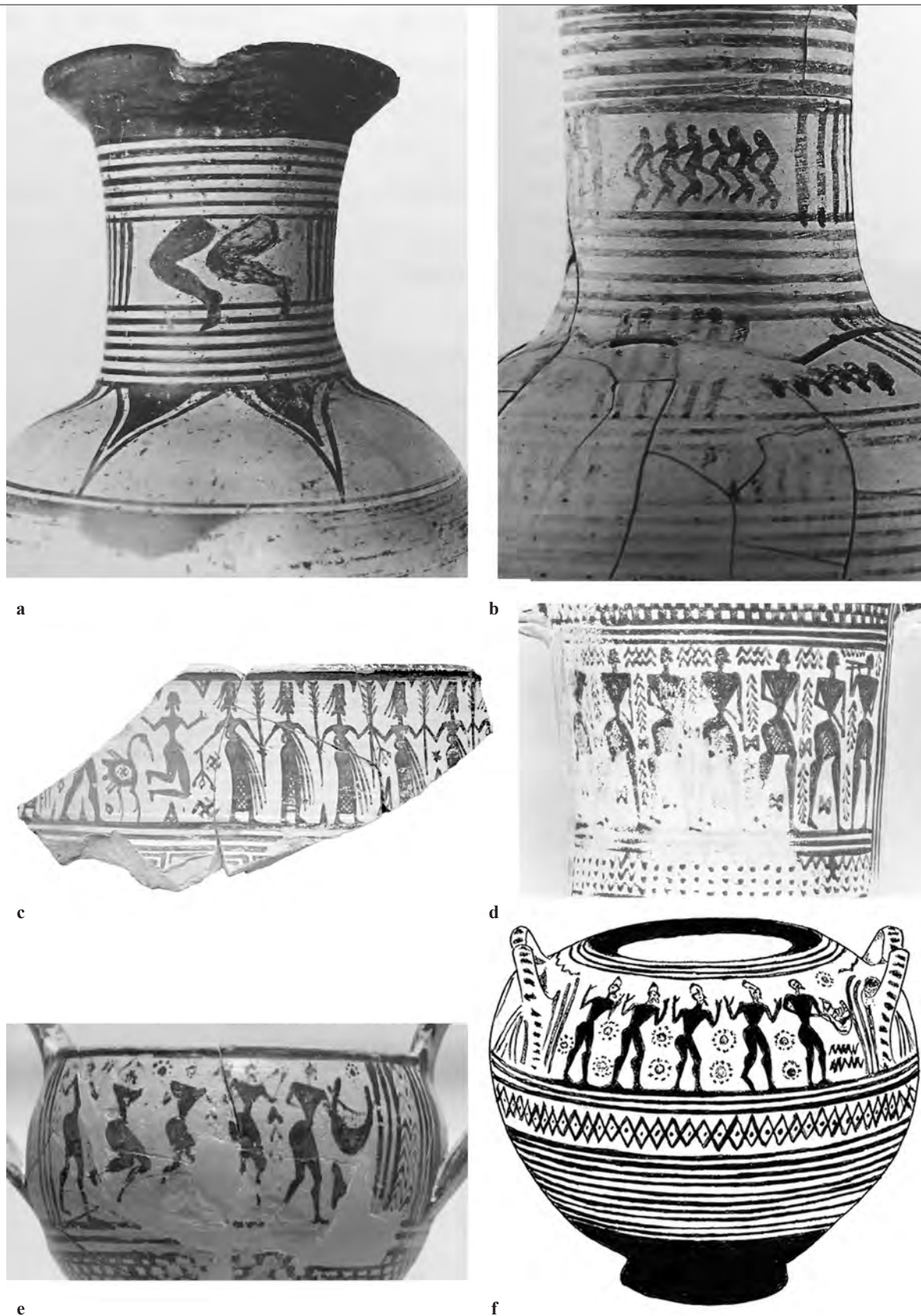


Fig. 15. a. Pontecagnano, Oinochoe from T. 6129 (after Cuozzo 2015); b. Pontecagnano, Oinochoe from T. 1836 (after Cuozzo 2015); c. Argos, Heraion, fragment of LG krater (after LANGDON 2008); d. Düsseldorf, Private Collection, Attic LG amphora (after WEGNER 1968); e. Athens, Burly Workshop, Attic LG kantharos (photo ©Egisto Sani, after <https://www.flickr.com/photos/69716881@N02/34764435483/in/photostream/>); f. Francavilla Marittima Sanctuary, so-called “Pisside Ticinese” (after GRANESE – TOMAY 2008)

patterns are well attested at the end of the 8th century BC also in colonial settings and local production is evident from the so-called Ticino Pyxis, a globular pyxis from the Francavilla Marittima sanctuary (Fig. 15f). On it is painted a complex program that includes a dance of men similar (on the Ticino Pyxis the dancers wear helmets) to that represented on the Burly Workshop vessel. The vase has been attributed to various productions, including Attic and Boeotian. It is currently considered the work of a painter operating *in situ*, perhaps local, who represents the rites linked to the goddess of the sanctuary on the Timpone della Motta, through an absolutely Greek codification of expression¹¹².

A large kotyle from Kyme's acropolis, found fragmented by Gabrici in 1890, stems possibly from a context associated with wine consumption. Although it was not subjected to NA analysis, it belongs to the production under review (Fig. 12c). In the first place because of its fabric characteristics, second by its – autoptically analysed – decoration and thirdly by the recovery from Kyme's Forum (Tempio con Portico) of two plate fragments (Figs. 12a-b). The plates are decorated with birds, perhaps ducks or swans, among small circles and are – like the cup – clearly inspired by contemporary Corinthian models¹¹³. One of the fragments is decorated with a row of small S motifs around the figured band that recur in the identical form on the ring-shaped foot of the cup. The fragments, dated to MPC and probably by the same hand or workshop that produced the kotyle, were already attributed to a local *atelier*. In spite of a recent chronological down-dating and proposal to attribute the cup to Etruscan-Corinthian production, its characteristics appear to me extremely close to the discussed Pithecusan-Cumaeian production of a date no later than the first half of the 7th century BC¹¹⁴. Also, the dimensions of the ob-

ject could be connected with its use, which – given its context at discovery, i.e. near the sanctuaries – is perhaps ritual and not funerary. Dimensions and decoration find comparisons, as said elsewhere, especially with contemporary Corinthian pottery, which at this stage was trying out its first broadly narrative scenes with uneven results¹¹⁵. The main figurative scene between the handles is difficult to interpret: it shows two groups of three bearded figures facing each other and perhaps dancing. Below them – in a secondary position – are three large birds. In this way, groups of birds alternate with groups of anthropomorphic figures. These, with obvious exaggeration of belly and buttocks – and disproportionate *phalli* in erection – show amplification of certain physical details. A number of scholars see this as typical for comic actors (hence the definition of *padded dancers*)¹¹⁶. However, in this period, difficulties in interpretation are more substantial because we are in a phase called by Smith the “pre-dramatic stage”. These figures – which, despite the supposed padding, are mostly naked, also evident in our case – are more often than not komasts connected to the sphere of wine-sharing. For komasts, this is less evident, especially in their early stages¹¹⁷. The presence of birds places the scenes with Orientalising animalistic friezes, in which human figures started to appear performing well-defined actions. The two groups of ithyphallic dancers with their long wild beards are in all probability performing a dance or a movement in a circle, which is marked by the positions of the first and the last figures juxtaposed to close the circle. The scene seems to take place in an intermediate context between a natural/divine

for a generic reference to the «morfologia e particolari della decorazione» of the vase.

¹¹⁵ For a similar kotyle, an example of this problem, see BENSON 1995, 168-169.

¹¹⁶ The phallic element and the sexual references are not canonical to this type of representation; SMITH 2016, 146-147, in which the definition of “padded-dancers” is also rejected, for which note 19. For the terminology, SMITH 2010, 1-3. It must be stressed that the connection between so-called “padded-dancers” and comic actors is by no means certain. This also includes the characteristics of the genitals represented, where the ithyphallic figures would refer to satyrs, while the naked men with genitals of normal size and at rest would be comic actors; CSAPO – MILLER 2007, 113-114, with bibliography.

¹¹⁷ SMITH 2009, 75-76. For the kind of clothes and attributes of komasts that would relate to their role, SMITH 2002, 33-34.

¹¹² On the problem, MERMATI 2020, 377-381, 392-393; on the olla-hydria from the Valle del Sarno GRECO – MERMATI 2006, 206-207; on the Ticino Pyxis, GRANESE – TOMAY 2008, 141-144, with bibliography; on the cult in the sanctuary, KLEIBRINK 1993; 2016, 254-265. On dances in ritual contexts, I thank Marianne Kleibrink for her suggestions.

¹¹³ MERMATI 2012a, 112, 213-214; with bibliography. The fragments are nos. U fr. 34 and U fr. 35, 130.

¹¹⁴ This proposal occurs in CUOZZO 2015, 232, note 27, where, however, the reasons for this hypothesis are not detailed, except

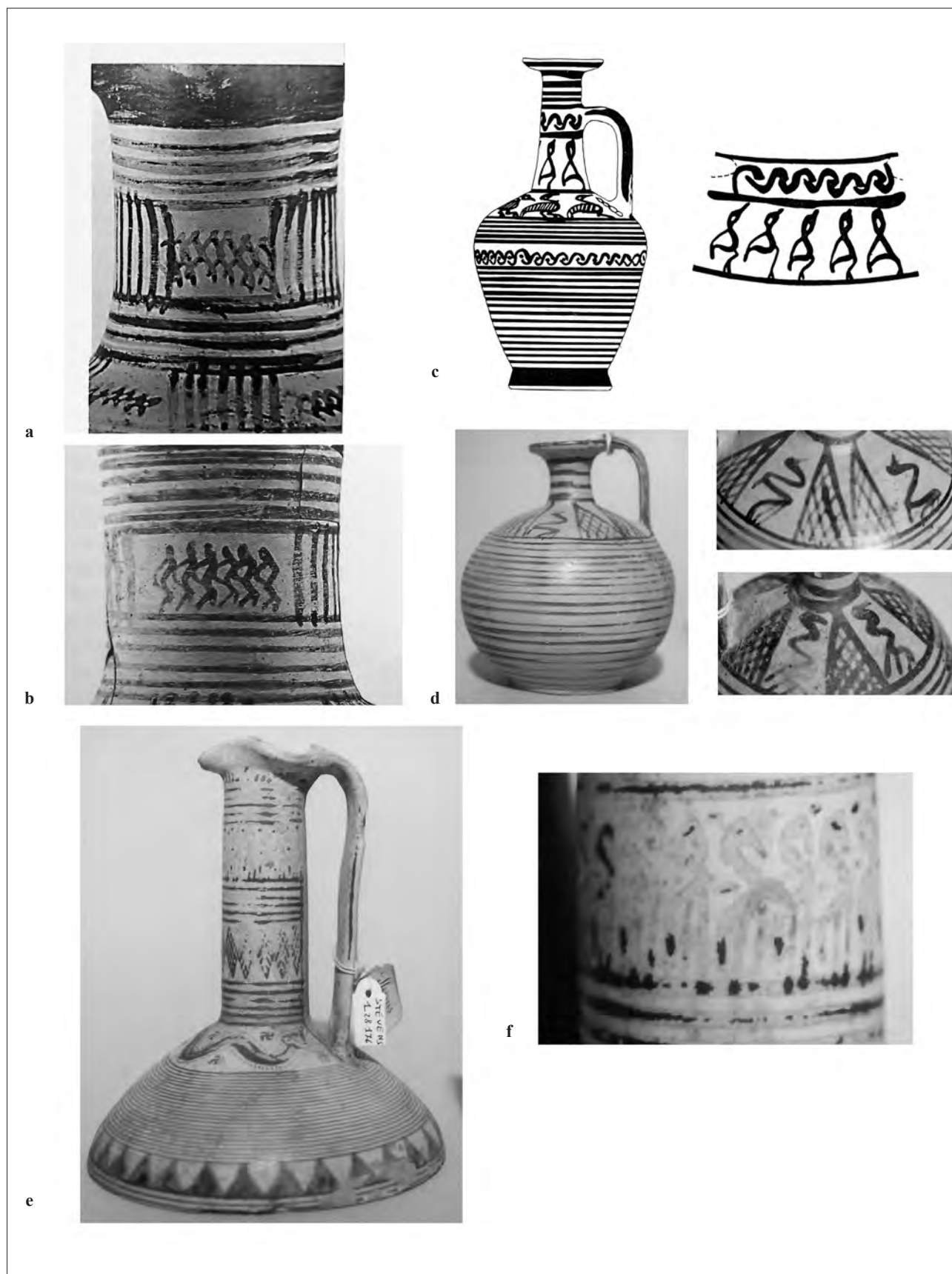


Fig. 16. a. Pontecagnano, Oinochoe from T. 2343 or 2545 (after Cuozzo 2015); b. Pontecagnano, Oinochoe from T. 1836 (after Cuozzo 2015); c. Pithekoussai, San Montano necropolis, LG II lekythos from T. 623 (after BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993); d. Kyme, necropolis, LG II aryballois by the “Pittore degli Uccelli a Forcella” (Inv. 128325 II, T. XXXII; Inv. 141254); e. Kyme, necropolis, PCA lekythos (Inv. 128176); f. Detail of the neck of the lekythos (Inv. 128176)

and a cultural/human one, between the wild and civilised worlds. In later compositions of this kind, the focus of action is always a large central vessel that must have contained wine: here, however, the only reference to wine is the shape of the cup itself. It is hard to say whether they are Silens or human dancers, and also what kind of dance or activity they are performing¹¹⁸. The organisation of the decoration on the vessel, including the subsidiary elements, is found with other contemporary objects. These are characterised by eclectic morphological and iconographic repertoires drawn from a range of sources from the East to Corinth via Euboea, which renders them unique. The combination of a complex figured band with large chequers, long and complex rays and rosettes with a central dot is found on a jug from T. 818 at San Valentino Torio, dated to the second quarter of the 7th century BC and recently published (Samp28, Fig. 17a). The vessel, subjected to NA analysis, was made from a clay belonging to a well-defined chemical group, placed with certainty in Etruria, near Caere or Falerii (X056). It had, after autoptic analysis, been considered Corinthian. As already pointed out elsewhere, because of its iconography and the motif of the Ischia-Cuma-Tarquiniia fishes, rendered according to the parameters of Pithecusan-Cumaeian production, the vessel must be considered the product of a Phlegraean artisan working *extra moenia*. He belonged probably to the Aristonothos circle, active in Caere. This is because the kotyle and the jug show affinities with the crater of that painter in several peculiarities and the general decorative apparatus. The pitcher from the Sarno Valley attests to a very early reception of an ornamental and formal repertoire that later becomes typical for the western Wild Goat Style and which had spread abroad after the middle of the 7th century BC¹¹⁹.

The two oinochoai from T. 168 (Samp23, EPC) and T.1366 (Samp25, MPC) belong to chemical groups without comparison (Figs. 13d-e). Both had been considered as of Pithecusan-Cumaeian production. The first specimen must be included in the

group of oinochoai with plant-like decoration and is characterised by decorations also used for a number of aryballoi distributed not only at Pithekoussai and Kyme but also at other Campanian sites, including Pontecagnano, *Calatia* and *Suessula*. The aryballoi seemed very alike and were already grouped into the so-called Volute Group. They have very stylised lotus flower decorations inspired by Corinthian and island prototypes. These look similar to decorations of the Cumae Group, which may reveal a similar original repertoire but are not directly dependent on each other. The T. 168 oinochoe finds a precise comparison in an identical vessel from T. 4461 of Pontecagnano and belongs to an isolated chemical group. If indeed some of these specimens are from the same painter's hand – as has been hypothesised elsewhere – their location still needs to be defined¹²⁰. Even the oinochoe from T. 1366, with its strong Corinthian character and place in the “Gruppo della Doppia Raggiera”, belongs to a chemical group of which it is the only sample so far. This vase had already been scrutinised because of a number of ornamental peculiarities¹²¹.

From T. 818, to which the pitcher with the animalistic frieze belongs, another pitcher was also subjected to NA analysis (Samp27, Fig. 17b). It finds later comparisons in Cumaeian and Pithecusan shapes present in residential areas but was manufactured from unrefined clay¹²². The San Val-

¹²⁰ On oinochoai with plant-like decoration, see above. For objects with stylised lotus flower motifs, MERMATI 2012a, 144-145, and related catalogue. Especially the two twin vases correspond to cat. A233 (from San Marzano, T. 168) and A362 (from Pontecagnano, T. 4461). On the first, MERMATI 2012a, 60, pl. X, 19, cat. A233, with bibliography. On the interpretation of the T. 168 oinochoe and connections to Pontecagnano, also D'AGOSTINO 1979, 67-68. On the Volute Group, MERMATI 2012a, 180-181.

¹²¹ MERMATI 2012a, 60, 148-149, especially note 65, cat. A227, with bibliography.

¹²² From the Forum of Kyme, NIGRO 2006, 70, 75, fig. 28, type 20.X.10, equally slipped and with a more defined profile. From Punta Chiarito on Ischia, GIALANELLA 1994, 198, C14-C15, fig. 25. The definition of “ceramica in argilla grezza” is not uniformly used, especially not for the pre-Roman period. It indicates here that pottery is made from coarse-grained fabrics, rich in natural inclusions and with added grit to improve the plasticity of the clay and its resistance to high temperatures. The pottery is made on the turntable and has a smoothed or slipped surface. It must be distinguished from the so-called *impasto*, which is also part of kitchen wares but not made on the wheel. The literature on this subject is extensive and documents different choices in the approach to the study of the materials based on different contexts and chronological periods. The study could proceed on

¹¹⁸ For the place of these first representations in the context – among others – of Dionysiac iconography that in this period is being defined, ISLER-KERÉNYI 2001, 29-33.

¹¹⁹ MERMATI 2015, 251-255, with previous bibliography.



Fig. 17. a. San Valentino Torio, Jug from T. 818 (Inv. 59901); b. San Valentino Torio, Jug from T. 818 (Inv. 59903); c. Pithekoussai, San Montano necropolis, Chytira from T. 160 (Inv. 166725)

entino Torio vase, made on the potter's wheel and slipped, is made of a none-too-refined clay but

morphological or functional observations or by a synthesis of both approaches. The shape we are considering here belongs to what, for example, at Locri is called "pouring pottery" following a classification based on function. At Pontecagnano, pottery studies of the "ceramica in argilla grezza" class provide further distinctions between pots made by hand or with a slow wheel (with smooth surface) and that moulded with the aid of the fast wheel, starting from the mid-7th century BC. For a summary with regard to Cumaeen contexts, NIGRO 2006, 57-68, with previous bibliography. On Locri, BARRA BAGNASCO 1989, 257-246. The typological and classificatory choices relating to this category at Pontecagnano are still unpublished, NIGRO 2006, 57, note 4.

much "cleaner" than the clays used for the production of similar Phlegraeen specimens. The fabric contains a large amount of visible volcanic inclusions, which suggests an origin from Kyme or Pithekoussai. However, the clay of this vessel did not find comparisons. The clay of the *impasto* chytira (belonging to kitchen ware) from T. 160 of the San Montano necropolis is also without comparisons (Samp15, Fig. 17c). The pot belongs to a deceased female of uncertain age. The decision to sample the object was motivated by the tomb's characteristics: it is a cremation, dating from the

last quarter of the 8th century BC and with grave goods that we can undoubtedly call rich. It contained – in addition to eight vases – two silver leech fibulae, two silver and gold braid fasteners, two silver rings and a silver necklace. Among the vases, there is also an *impasto* oinochoe, which, together with the chytra, leads to the possibility that the deceased was familiarly or personally linked to an indigenous context¹²³. The above pottery type is attested for residential contexts, where it occurs frequently and must have been used to cook with. It usually is associated with the indigenous area. The unparalleled chemical result may be explained by an outside origin for the object or production *in situ* but from clay that so far could not be localised. The presence of refined pottery and kitchen ware together in Kiln 1 at Santa Restituta has already been mentioned. Although the kitchen ware is probably residual in the kiln, the workshop arguably produced both¹²⁴. It is possible that for this pottery, the clay was selected from special quarries, yet to be identified. Problems relating to the production sites and the movements of domestic pottery remain therefore still open, but they are obviously subject to different cultural dynamics compared with those that dominate the circulation of finely decorated pottery.

FINAL REMARKS

From the situation outlined above, it is possible to draw several conclusions, albeit preliminary and deriving from an initial reading of the data.

First of all, it must be remarked that neutron activation analysis has indicated a more complex situation than that traced by the XRF examination of material from Santa Restituta. With the latter, it

was possible to isolate the so-called Group D and ascribe to it the local production of the first phases¹²⁵; now several more clay groups are identified that are attributable to Phlegraean production (X003, X113, X118, while group X071 poses difficulties of insertion). The slight differences between the three groups may probably be ascribed to different clay banks supplying the raw material for different workshops¹²⁶. This confirms the heterogeneity of the clay deposits at Ischia that has already been ascertained. The substantial uniformity of the Santa Restituta samples may perhaps be explained by a consistency in the place of supply for the *atelier* examined, which appears to have been active during the second half of the 8th century BC¹²⁷. The group includes objects that, by autoptic examination, were easily identifiable as locally produced. An exception is the cup San Marzano T. 73 (Samp30), of excellent workmanship and defined at the time as Corinthian, predominately because of the characteristics of its clay (Fig. 4c)¹²⁸.

Clay group X003 is distributed over all the examined areas; from its clay pots of very different shapes and types were produced, such as Aetos 666 cups, craters with Cesnola Style decoration, amphorae like the one decorated with warriors of Atticising taste, Thapsos cups of the “without panel” type, oinochoai and lekythoi of proto-Corinthian style, plates with a wide lip and geometric decoration. However, the clay group has also been discovered to be that of cup San Marzano T. 65, which stylistically appears to be not very close to Pithecusan-Cumaeans pots, and which is of a less accurate standard of manufacture (Samp34, Fig. 8f). The above data confirm the presence of a Phlegraean production centre that uses ornamental patterns in the Cesnola style. One of the workshops that produced the famous oinochoai of the Ischia-Cuma-Tarquinoa Group must now also definitely be placed at Pithekoussai/Kyme¹²⁹. From

¹²³ On the tomb, BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 200-203, and related tables. On the interpretation of this tomb and others with similar characteristics, MERMATI 2012b, 294, 304, tab. 4 (first part). Also fundamental on the role of the indigenous inhabitants of Pithekoussai are KELLEY 2012 and, more recently, CERCHIAI 2014, 228-234.

¹²⁴ OLCESI 2017, 108-111, 349-351; 2015, 284. The cooking ware fragments were not subjected to chemical analysis; OLCESI 2017, 186. The kitchen ware found in Kiln 1 comes from layers of fills from abandonment, perhaps related to the decommissioning of the structure. The fragments belong to jars similar to the one of the T 160.

¹²⁵ On Group D, see *supra*.

¹²⁶ Olcese supposes a presence on the island of a unique *kerameikos* of Greek tradition (OLCESE 2017, 186), which seems, however, not very likely for the reasons offered above.

¹²⁷ THIRION-MERLE 2017, 195.

¹²⁸ D'AGOSTINO 1979, 61, fig. 34.

¹²⁹ On the style of the Cesnola painter at Pithekoussai, MERMATI 2012 a, 196-198.

clay of the X003 group, the pots span from LG to MPC and, consequently, attest to continuity in the use of the quarries – and perhaps also in workshop activity – for a period not less than 70 years, reaching the first quarter of the 7th century BC. The place where the clay once was collected remains uncertain, but since it was used to produce some of the most typical pots of island manufacture, it may probably be placed on Ischia, suggesting a dynamic of pottery trafficked from the island to the coast, though that does not necessarily lead to the exclusion of a simultaneous production on the coast. The import of raw material from one site to another cannot be excluded but is certainly to be considered the less likely hypothesis and certainly not the only possible course of action. In fact, a multiplicity of mechanisms operating at the same time or in alternating phases, linked to the changing patterns of relationship between the two communities, must be assumed.

The X113 group of samples comes from pots that, after macroscopic examination, also appeared to be of Pithecusan make. Several of the best-made and larger-sized vases, remarkable for their decidedly Euboeanising decoration that traditionally has made scholars look for their provenance on that island, belong to it. In fact, the two largest Phlegraeen vases from the Sarno Valley belong to this group: the famous crater and the jar-hydria with Cesnola Style decoration from the rich female tombs 168 and 928 of San Marzano (Samp24 and Samp26, Figs. 7a, c). The accreditation of the olla-hydria to a Phlegraeen workshop also allows confirmation of the hypothesis that it must have been a commissioned object produced in a Greek atelier using an indigenous form. This was evidently important to the client and her use of the object, which probably required a Greek decoration of strong conceptual value¹³⁰. Interestingly, clay group X113 is not present in any of the 14 Mazzola samples. This may certainly be attributed to random and limited sampling. However, given the consistency of other results related to Mazzola sherds – which document the presence of clay groups X003 and X118 – we cannot reject the suggestion out of hand that this group represents pots

produced by another workshop that maintained different distribution dynamics, perhaps intended mainly for export. Given the high dates for the pieces of this group to be placed between LG I and LG II, it must, in any case, be a manufacturing entity that started its activity during the first phase of the Phlegraeen settlement. It seems to remain working till the end of the century when its products still appear to be affixed in a Euboean *substratum* but already open to new Corinthian influences. Nothing forces us to connect clay provenance to *atelier* or potter, but it should be remarked that the fact that an Aetos cup 666 from T. 70 of San Marzano (Samp36, Fig. 4e) belongs to this clay group is significant, especially because it has been described as «molto trascurata», carelessly painted¹³¹. To explain this, two scenarios are possible: the existence of several workshops with different production dynamics and standards but with access to the same quarries or the presence of a single workshop with potters of different technical expertise. In either case, the workshop(s), clearly of Phlegraeen tradition, remain to be localised. A final interesting hypothesis, which must be presented cautiously, pending new data, is the possibility that clay X113 was used by a workshop located in the Sarno Valley but managed by Phlegraeen potters, perhaps with the help of local labour. In fact, this would explain not only the uncertain source of manufacture of Sarno cup Aetos 666 from San Marzano T 70 but also the very nature of the jar-hydria from T 928.

Clay group X118 contains pots of very different manners of manufacture with very different fabrics and colours, as could be observed by autoptic analysis. Cup Aetos 666 from Mazzola Inv. 245572 seems to precisely copy the decorative schemata of its models (Samp21, Fig. 4b), but the specimens from T. 277 at San Marzano take greater freedom in ornamentation, which is limited to “loose” lines painted over the body, apparently by the same hand (Samp29 and Samp31, Figs. 7b, 8b). This may be true as well for the two vases from the Valle del Sarno, painted perhaps in an *atelier* with a varied range of products. We must not rule out either that, as in the case of clay group X113, the

¹³⁰ GRECO – MERMATI 2006, 181-184, 205-209.

¹³¹ D'AGOSTINO 1979, 61.

same clays might have been exploited by different potters.

Clay group X071, which, by its chemical characteristics, is very close to group X003, includes pots that all come from the Valle del Sarno. It has been attributed, by autoptic examination, to Phlegraean production. The group has not been attested anywhere else. All three pots are decorated in a rather hasty style, characterised by chevrons and lozenge chains suspended in a reserved, plain space. This kind of decoration must be ascribed to a single decorative concept or even to a single hand. If this is true, then the production of these pots must have covered at least 50 years because the available data point to the entire second half of the 8th century BC. The workshop in question, however, is still to be identified and localised. The above vases are stylistically distant from those of Phlegraean workmanship and even the morphological characteristics seem to stem from elsewhere; for example, for T. 70's small jug, no typological comparisons can be found among Pitheculan-Cumaeian wares (Samp33, Fig. 8c), while the bands of colour on the inside of cups from tombs 69 and 277 also seem to draw on a different artistic source (Samp32 and Samp37, Fig. 8d-e).

One of the most significant results among the identified chemical groups that cannot be attributed to Campanian production is, undoubtedly, that pertaining to the samples that could be placed in clay group EuA, which identifies its pots as being produced in central Euboea. At this point, it must be said that – in addition to the two chevron cups and the black cup, which are from a period prior to the arrival of settlers and belong to clay group X061 (Samp1-3, Fig. 3) – of the 14 samples, taken from Mazzola ceramics at Pithekoussai, only two were assigned to Euboean production (Samp9, Samp12). They must – as was to be expected – be placed in the third quarter of the 8th century BC (Figs. 4a, 6a). Both have been identified by scholars as of local production, which contradicts the optimistic conviction of some that clays of this origin are easily recognisable¹³². The difficulty in distinguishing between Phlegraean and mother-

land production has already been highlighted, especially in the case of the similarity and chemical overlap between Pithekoussai and Chalkis. This problem has already affected, as we saw, the correct attribution of the three skyphoi from Cumae¹³³. The data, therefore, confirm that the first Euboean colonies in Italy did not receive large quantities of pottery from the motherland, but rather what travelled, in particular, would seem to be the potters and/or painters themselves. Their style travelled with them, also conveyed by imported masterpieces such as those in Cesnola Style.

A very significant matter is the presence at Cumae of the Dipylon Style oinochoe of the KrPPS chemical group (Samp4, Fig. 9). The limited distribution of Attic vases in the period under consideration is well known, and contrasts with the widespread of their decorative motifs, which also pervade the style of the Pitheculan-Cumaeian workshops¹³⁴. In particular, the objects of the Dipylon Painter and its circle are notoriously made to satisfy local needs and mainly respond to a request linked to the funerary habits of an élite group. In fact, the pots are almost exclusively used as burial *semata* in the case of monumental specimens or as objects of grave-gift assemblages¹³⁵. Small vessels, in particular, moved but a little, while a number of larger vases, with more ambitious decoration, do travel, but certainly not to the West. However, starting with MG, real “Atticising” products are born that are found practically all over the Aegean, so much so that the Coldstream speaks of a real “Attic Middle Geometric *koine*”¹³⁶. The link between Attic pottery in this phase, and a reconstruction of the repertoires of Euboean and Pitheculan workshops operating in the Cesnola Style, suggests a passage to the West mediated by Euboean trade routes and carriers¹³⁷. Considering the high date of the object, however, it cannot be ruled out that the Phlegraean workshops gradually acquired new motifs, borrowing them also from

¹³³ DESCŒUDRES 2006, 6-7.

¹³⁴ DE VRIES 2003, 141. On Attic influence in Pitheculan-Cumaeian production, MERMATI 2012a, 233-234.

¹³⁵ On the Dipylon Group, most recently COULIÉ 2015, with bibliography.

¹³⁶ COLDSTREAM 1968a, 344-357; 1983, 18; 2003, 132-137.

¹³⁷ On the problem SEROGLU 2009 and VLACHOU 2015b, 51, 65-66, with bibliography.

¹³² DESCŒUDRES 2006, 6-7.

imported originals. Also, one cannot exclude the possibility that the arrival at Cumae of this oinochoe happened thanks to the arrival there of an individual and it may therefore be an isolated event that cannot be systematised. In fact, it arrives on the Campanian coast when the already scarce diffusion of Attic pottery seems to decrease still further. Its presence, then, should rather be attributed to the strong phenomenon of individual travellers that characterises the Mediterranean of the third quarter of the 8th century BC, a moment in which the formation of the two Phlegraean sites took place. Their setting up was a great opportunity for open-minded navigators and traders, but also for individuals in search of fortune or a new home. This mobility may have also involved married women travelling over long distances; the practice of exchanging gifts cannot be excluded either¹³⁸. The loss and non-recoverability of the tomb's grave-gift assemblage makes it difficult to read the vase within its context.

Pitheculan-Cumaeen workshops, *in primis* on the island, appear to be active and unquestionably market competitive from the moment they are installed. The relative scarcity of imported Euboean pottery is a very evident sign that they were perfectly capable of producing, from the very start, pottery that was absolutely consistent with the settler background. So much so as to be unrecognis-

able as local by modern scholars and, therefore, even more so to the ancient buyer. In fact, the user had no cause to distinguish imported vessels from those produced locally unless this was openly declared by the potter¹³⁹. This adherence to contemporary productions has, from the beginning, led Giorgio Buchner to reject the concept of "local imitation" and to talk rather of Euboean pottery produced at Pithekoussai, while David Ridgway more recently defined the Phlegraean products as authentic examples of their class, «esempi autentici della loro categoria»¹⁴⁰. In addition to the presence of different clays in Phlegraean workshops, one should admit the possible existence of products by colonial potters operating in indigenous contexts, which, based on macroscopic analysis, has already been suggested. In the Campanian indigenous and Etruscan tombs, it must have been perfectly permissible and common to incorporate vessels that were perceived by an Italic individual as Greek *tout court*, regardless of their exact origin. The pots only had to be available on the market, and all came from the Greek coastal sites anyway. This is evident in the richest grave-gift assemblages, in which numerous vases of refined clay appear, often pieces of Phlegraean made and imported from Greece side by side but apparently alike in shape and decoration. It seems more difficult to quantify the value of an imported vessel than that of a local product. In two cases, traces of ancient repairs have been noted. The most obvious one is that on the Thapsos type kantharos in the grave goods of T. 76 from San Marzano and certainly not Phlegraean (Samp22, Figs. 5f-g). This is a type that does not frequently occur in the Greek coastal sites, both among imported and local pots. The vase, which had broken into several fragments, underwent extensive repairs that involved one of its handles and part of the body¹⁴¹. Unfortu-

¹³⁸ The possibility that single Attic vases were part of the personal possessions of individuals on the move – aristocrats, merchants or brides – is explored in SEROGLU 2009, 30. In the context of female mobility, the fibulae from tombs 137/46 and 355 of San Montano, belonging to types 87 and 89 of Lo Schiavo, and assigned to the Greek islands, should be mentioned here. The first is documented as far away as Gordion, in central-western Anatolia. Guzzo considers these fibulae as imports from there, as characterising the origin of the deceased, or as purchases. In the case of a sub-adult burial, the fibulae could be linked to the mother's provenance. Purchase is perhaps less likely: the rarity of the specimens seems rather suggest they are better seen as personal objects or as a result of an episodic exchange. The same considerations apply to the "a doble resorte" fibula from the T. 700, type Lo Schiavo 362. From T 137/46, unpublished, only the fibulae are known, while T. 355 is of a female infant. In both burials, the Greek-type fibulae are accompanied by local types, which complicates interpretation. T. 700 belongs to a sub-adult of uncertain sex, of which only the fibula, moreover from a fill, remains; GUZZO 2012, 511, 515, 518-522; MERMATI 2012b, 294. For the fibulae types, LO SCHIAVO 2010, 232-234, 737. Malkin recently suggested more complex scenarios, i.e. the presence of Greek women in the starting colonial groups and/or their arrival at the moment very soon after, MALKIN 2020.

¹³⁹ On the awareness of the possession of imported or locally produced vases, see DONNELLAN 2020. However, looking at the objects today, one wonders how significant this was for the ancient user, who must often have used identical vases.

¹⁴⁰ BUCHNER 1981, 267; RIDGWAY 2010, 264-265.

¹⁴¹ The repair was carried out by "re-stitching" through adjacent holes. Because of its contemporaneity to the other objects of the burial – dated to the last quarter of the 8th century BC – we cannot accept that this piece was old and thus in keeping: the vase must have been purchased at the time of death or just be-

nately, it is not possible to know if this care was due to its value as an exotic object or to the scarce importance given to the state of preservation of the objects at the time of burial. It must, however, be said that the practice of repair does not seem frequent with objects found in the Valle del Sarno necropolis. Another similar case is found with an Aetos 666 cup from Mazzola, which also has a neat hole in one of the fragments, a clear sign of ancient repair (Samp9, Fig. 4a)¹⁴². The item can be dated to LG I, and an interpretation as a “family object” must be excluded in this case. It stems from a residential context, in which the functionality of the object should be considered necessary for proper use. It is no coincidence that the cup in question is of Euboean production and perhaps considered worthy of it.

The last element worth underlining is the multiplicity of local *ateliers*, whose products were available both at the Phlegraean colonies and at indigenous sites. This is evident, for example, from the grave goods of T. 277 at San Marzano, which contain three vases decorated in the Geometric style,

belonging to two different chemical groups and also to different workshops. As already mentioned, it is quite possible that several ready-made combinations were available to the customer (for example, crater + pouring jar; or pouring jar + drinking cup/*poterion*).

ADDENDUM

We must point out here that during the drafting process of this paper, which took a long time, some results were reviewed by Hans Mommsen. Some previous geochemical groups (X056, X113 and X118) do not exist anymore. Their members were regrouped in other already existing groups, mainly X003. This group and X071 are Phlegraean. Samp12 was more recently attributed to X061 group, probably from Euboea and very close to EuA group. The group X067 was located in northern Peloponnese. Samp1, Samp28 and Samp 30 are singleton, and did not find comparisons. For the update and details, the reader may refer to the contribution MERMATI in press.

fore. Moreover, this kantharos, despite the “stitching”, had evidently lost its functionality after the break, as it could not hold liquid anymore. However, even if it could no longer actually be used at the funeral rite, it was still considered a worthy object, not only to be rescued from the disposal but “worthy” to be part of the grave’s assemblage.

¹⁴² The fragment may be dated LG I, and also, in this case, cannot have been an “*oggetto di famiglia*”/heirloom.

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one mention from the post-antique period of epithermal gold in association with the presence of alum, which could not be used to produce objects. Consequently, the only certain metal production documented in Pithecusa is that of bronze fibulae.

LUCIA A. SCATOZZA HÖRICH, *Pithecusan Gold: Anatolian Connections*

The absence of gold ornaments in Pithecusa, both among the finds in the metallurgical district of Mazzola and the necropolis, from which only objects of gilded silver are known at present, if compared with those of the necropolis of Kyme in Phlegraean fields, re-launches the discussion on the meaning attributed to the term *chryseia* or *chrysia* in the well-known passage of the Greek source. In the ancient world, the search for metals was a major factor in mobility and raised the question of the role of Pithecusa in the gold trade, which involved the relationship between Euboea and the eastern Aegean. What emerges in Pithecusa can be related to the recent archaeological research, which reveals important interconnections between Euboea and the site of Kyme Aiolis on the coast of central-western Anatolia, perhaps as early as the LPG period.

GLORIA OLCESE (with a contribution by GILBERTO ARTIOLI), *Natural Resources and Raw Materials at Ischia in Antiquity: Some Data and Preliminary Reports from an Ongoing, Interdisciplinary Project*

This paper illustrates the new project begun at Ischia, following the study and publication of the artisan quarter excavated beneath the church of Santa Restituta (Lacco Ameno). The research will focus on the island's natural resources, both environmental and geological, available during the period of colonization, but also later. These resources have not always been sufficiently considered in archaeological investigations. Drawing on literary sources and employing specific scientific analyses for the identification of mineral and clay deposits, the project will reconstruct the agricultural landscape, the use of the land's resources, and the techniques of wine and ceramic production, of which the island has yielded important archaeological evidence.

NADIN BURKHARDT, STEPHAN FAUST, *First Results of the Excavations at Pithekoussai from 2016-2018 (Villa Arbusto, Lacco Ameno, Ischia)*

Being the first Greek settlement in the Western Mediterranean, Pithekoussai (modern Ischia) has long been at the centre of scholarly discussions about the early phase of the so-called Colonization of Western Greece. New archaeological evidence of this historical process is provided by a recent project that investigates an area next to the "Museo Archeologico di Pitheculae" in the Villa Arbusto at Lacco Ameno. Here, several terrace walls, which consisted of several layers of boulders with finished surfaces on the front, were found. While the dating of archaeological material from the surrounding trenches (including indigenous as well as imported pottery, roof tiles and a scarab) ranges from the Apennine Culture of pre-Roman Italy to the late Archaic Period, the stratigraphy suggests that the site was occupied by the building structures since the Late Geometric Period. They might have belonged to a domestic context or even a sanctuary.

MARIASSUNTA CUOZZO, *Pithekoussai. Pottery from the Mazzola Area*

Here I present about 100 sherds and partly reconstructed vases from the Mazzola area I selected for the reopening of the room dedicated to Pitheculae at the National Archaeological Museum of Naples. After a quick overview of the types distinguishing the main chronological horizons, I dwell here on two specific subjects: a still understudied class for Pithekoussai, namely, "white-on-black" overpainted ware and a figured Late Geometric sherd lacking close parallels in coeval Pitheculan pottery.

FRANCESCA MERMATI, *Parerga and Paralipomena to the Study of Pitheculan-Cumaeian Ceramic Production in the Light of New Research. Twenty Years after Euboica*

For the study of colonial enterprise in the western Mediterranean in the first half of the 8th century

BC research on pottery production has always been of major importance. In the case of Pithekoussai and Kyme, the artisans could count on an already established state of affairs, which allowed them to immediately start up successful workshops, and achieve a steadily developing production. In the earliest phase, the original cultural background is still much in evidence: it shows a strong Euboean influence but is already enriched by other inputs – Boeotian, Attic, Corinthian and from the Cycladic islands. Over time, contact and coexistence with different groups native to the land and/or newly arrived there lead to an eclectic production that becomes easily recognisable. Archaeometric analyses (NA) carried out on materials dating from the mid-first quarter of the 8th century BC until the middle of the 7th century – distributed between Pithekoussai, Kyme and the necropolises of the Valle del Sarno – now clarifies the origin of some of the most ancient pottery imports in the Phlegraean area, and so reveals and defines the complexity of the Pithecusan-Cumaeian pottery production and the manner of its consumption and diffusion.

TERESA E. CINQUANTAQUATTRO, BRUNO D'AGOSTINO, *The Context of "Nestor's Cup": New Considerations in the Light of Recent Anthropological Studies*

The so-called "tomb of Nestor's Cup" (T. 168) is one of the most representative contexts of the extraordinary intermediary role played by Pithekoussai between the Greek motherland and the Western world thanks to its eponymous vase which is the oldest direct source of the Homeric epic. The study and re-examination of the skeletal specimen by a team of anthropologists led by L. Bondioli and M. Gigante have provided new data indicating that the tomb assemblage did not in fact belong to one single burial and this calls into question its interpretation until now. The article re-examines the dynamics of the formation of the archaeological records, focusing on the "layer of burnt fragments" identified below the tumuli and interpreted as the result of a ritual action to which it is highly probable that a large part of the vases present in "context 168" can be attributed.

MAREK WĘCOWSKI, *The "Cup of Nestor" in Context. The Rise of the Greek Aristocratic Culture*

The goal of this paper is to show that the Pithecusan "Cup of Nestor", as well as similar LG vessels adorned with convivial inscriptions and spanning the Mediterranean from Rhodes to Ischia, become our first witnesses to the rise of the Greek aristocratic culture. One of its main unifying mechanisms, or mobile hubs of this overarching network, were aristocratic symposia, or better, the cultural skills and competencies on which this social practice was based, featuring the alphabetic competences of their participants. This culture of the LG Greek "travelling elites" can be described as a main integrative force of early Greek civilisation – both in its social and its geographical dimension, thus matching and counterbalancing the fundamental (geographic and political) fragmentation of the Hellenic world.

Cumae and Parthenope

ALFONSO MELE, *Kyme, Apollo and the Sybil*

Starting from recent archaeological investigations, which have led to a reassessment of the attribution of the upper temple of the acropolis, this article discusses the cult of Apollo Archegetes at Cumae, and his role in the foundation of the colony. The tradition of the cult of Aeolian Apollo in the Chalcidian colonies is examined, and the characteristics of the god worshipped with the epiclesis of *Smintheus* in different parts of the Greek world are discussed. As the latest research shows, the god is also present in Cumae with this connotation; the presence of the Sibyl is linked to his domain, which also includes the mantic sphere. This paper traces the various traditions on the Sibyls in Greece, in the Aegean area and in the West, focusing on the Cumaeian Sibyl, documented in the literary tradition since the Archaic age. The discovery on the acropolis temple of two bronze figurines, the first of which represents a lyre player identified with the Sibyl, and the second with a warrior, gives us the opportunity to reconsider the tradition of Apollo and his connections with the other cults of the early Cumaeian pantheon.

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The intent of the *Euboica II* conference, *Pithekoussai e l'Eubea tra Oriente e Occidente*, held in Lacco Ameno (Ischia, Naples) from 14 to 17 May 2018, was to discuss the themes of colonization, how colonial realities became rooted in different areas of the Mediterranean, the specific traits of Euboean colonization, and forms of contact and relationship between the Greek element and local communities. These Proceedings are divided in two volumes, arranged geographically. They feature a dialogue between historians and archaeologists, with an emphasis on the new important contributions made over the last twenty years by field archaeology in Euboea and in colonial and Mediterranean contexts.

